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# HELLENICS OF XENOPHON.

BOOKS I. AND II.


20
25
40
Pontus
Euxinus
THRACE
MACEDONIA
BYZANTIUM
Selybria
Perinthus
Propontis
Proconnesus
Thasos
BITHYNIA
Cyzicus
Abarnis Pr.
Lampsacus
Abydus
Hellespontus
Ilium
Mt. Ida
Antandrus
PHRYGIA
MYSIA
EPIRUS
THESSALIA
Larissa
Pherae
Scione
Torone
MARE
Methymna
Lesbos
Mytilene
Arginusae I.
Phocaea
LYDIA
ASIA MINOR
Leucas
ACARNANIA
AETOLIA
Heraclea
OETAEI
PHOCIS
EUBOEA
BOEOTIA
Thebes
Delphinium
Chios
IONIA
Clazomenae
Sardes
Colophon
Ephesus
Notium
Samos
Cephallenia
ACHAIA
ELIS
ARCADIA
Corinthus
ARGOLIS
Athenae
Thoricus
Aegina
Gaurium
Andros
AEGAEUM
CARIA
Miletus
Zacynthus
Lacedaemon
MESSENIA
Pylos
LACONICA
Gythium
Paros
Melos
Malea Prom.
Cos
Sin. Ceramicus
Rhodus
Eleusis
Sinus
Eleusinius
Salamis
Piraeus
ATHENAE
Stadia Olympica

# ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΑ
## Α. Β.

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# HELLENICS OF XENOPHON

## BOOKS I. AND II.

THE TEXT REVISED

WITH NOTES CRITICAL AND EXPLANATORY
ANALYSIS INDICES AND MAP

BY

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# INTRODUCTION.

The ancients themselves never doubted as to the genuineness of the complete Hellenics. Amongst later critics however Niebuhr had no hesitation in styling Xenophon "an utterly unworthy citizen, and a historian of but little integrity." Vollbrecht[1] further brings before our notice charges laid against the Historian of "openly disregarding topics, which, either from their want of striking interest, or of congeniality with Spartan sympathies, did not court narration"; of "wholly suppressing, or setting forward, with strong bias, judgment on many of the leading characters of later Peloponnesian history"; of "closely curtailing, or treating diffusely grave and important incidents." In short, modern critics no longer share the confidence of earlier scholars in our author's candour and simplicity of style. Many charge Xenophon himself with a direct perversion of the truth; many complain of the lateness and imperfections of the manuscripts; some infer that the Hellenics which we now possess are but notes of single

[1] G. Vollbrecht, *Dissert. de Xen. Hellen.* p. 3, sqq.

events jotted down for a complete review of history; others, that we have no more than a summary of the entire original composition.

From the frequent notices of later historians we may with certainty gather that there existed a work of Xenophon amongst them treating of Greek History from the period at which the pen of Thucydides was laid down; and the opening words[1] of the Hellenics prove nothing to the contrary. Grote[2] indeed writes that "to pass from Thucydides to the Hellenica of Xenophon is a descent truly mournful; and yet when we look at Grecian history as a whole, we have great reason to rejoice that even so inferior a work as the latter has reached us." We miss, it is true, the elaborate research and power of narrative in Xenophon's continuation of his predecessor's story; the absence, on the other hand, of anything like philosophical or legendary digression, even if the narrative becomes thereby somewhat over-plain and simple, yet imparts to the successive details a close and practical connexion.

The first two books of the Hellenics comprise the scenes of the closing years of the Peloponnesian war, with the ensuing events at Athens, down to the expulsion of the Thirty Tyrants in 403 B.C.[3]. Throughout the narration of this series of events, the historian appears to his best advantage: his heart is still warm with an innate love of country and of her free institutions: like a true Athenian, he condemns the

[1] Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, cp. note I. 1. 1.
[2] *Hist. Gr.* VII. p. 356, n.
[3] Mure, *Lit. Anc. Greece*, p. 278.

wholesale murders of the Thirty Tyrants, no less than the inconsiderate cruelty of the fickle populace towards the six admirals who perished undefended and unheard. Dislike indeed to accurate detail and rising aristocratic sympathies have subjected our author to the grave charge[1] of "purposely involving the events following upon Arginusæ and the position of the generals in obscurity": and certainly that strict impartiality in judging of events, which Thucydides especially shews, is wanting in his successor[2]. If however Xenophon becomes crude in his narration, yet his speeches will not fail to give complete satisfaction. In length, argument, and purpose these are equally appropriate; and their rhetoric is lightened with playful sarcasm and dramatic colour. The combatants' harangue is pleasingly relieved by the interposition of events, the historian's judgment, or the listeners' words and feelings as to the point in question[3]: while sometimes an eloquence, not unworthy of the orator Demosthenes or Æschines, rises above the historian's unambitious evenness of speech[4].

In this supplement to Peloponnesian history, the method of chronology by years and seasons is continued according to the practice of Thucydides[5]; while in addition to the usual formula, the notice of minor details seems to mark more closely the historic series of events. Thus we have mention of Olympiads[6], of victors in the stadium[7], of a race of two-horsed chariots[8], of archons and ephors[9]. Thucydides indeed

[1] Grote, *Hist. Gr.* VII. p. 435, n. [2] Mure, p. 318.
[3] II. 3. 24, sqq. [4] II. 4. 20, sqq. [5] Thuc. II. 1.
[6] I. 2. 1, II. 3. 1. [7] I. 2. 1, II. 3. 1. [8] I. 2. 1.
[9] I. 3. 1, I. 6. 1, II. 1. 10, II. 3. 1.

makes frequent mention of archons and ephors, and even of priestesses of Juno at Argos; but rather to define more distinctly some event of note, than to arrange in due order the transactions of successive years. When we contrast however these notices of our historian with the *general* plan of Thucydides [1], who only mentions the Olympic victor once [2], and that in strict connection with the summoning to Olympia of the Mitylenæan ambassadors—or of Herodotus, who only mentions an archon once [3], to define the year more clearly in which Athens was laid waste by the Persians, the citations may with some reason be considered suppositious. In the latter part of the second book, there is no distinct method of computing time [4]; and the dates assigned to events, according to computation of years from the commencement of the war, hardly present sufficient correctness to exclude the idea of later interpolation [5].

There is little doubt but that the present division of the Hellenics into books is the work of later grammarians [6]. Niebuhr considered that the Greek History of Xenophon was formed of two distinct works, written at different times, viz., the conclusion of Thucydides and the Hellenics. The conclusion of Thucydides, consisting of the first two books, was, in his opinion, written in the interval between the Return of the Ten Thousand, and the recall of Agesilaus from Asia (B.C. 400—394), while the last five books were written about 356 B.C. He also conceived it not improbable

[1] Breitenbach, *Prolegom. Xen. Hellen.* p. 26.
[2] III. 8. [3] VIII. 51. [4] Mure, p. 321
[5] I. 6. 1, II. 1. 7. [6] Mure, p. 323.

that Xenophon published the books of Thucydides, when residing at Athens after the battle of Cnidus, and subjoined to them two supplemental books. But even if the earlier and later books were written at different periods[1], it does not follow that Xenophon did not consider them as belonging to the same work, especially when we call to mind the long delay and limited publicity attending the production of an ancient work. Probably the Histories of Thucydides and of Herodotus were written continuously without any division of words, and still less of paragraphs or chapters or books. The Dialogues of Plato moreover shew no signs of any division into books, with the exception of the Republic and the Laws; and although the philosophical treatises of Aristotle had in the time of Diogenes Laertius been all divided into books, yet they are wholly devoid of internal evidence that these divisions were made by Aristotle himself. Polybius who survived 129 B.C. is the earliest Greek writer whose extant remains exhibit unquestionable evidence of an original division into books.

As regards the text in general, all scholars who had the good fortune to study Greek and Roman antiquity under the auspices of Shilleto, will readily call to mind his favourite saying, "Cobet has gone too far": and in the present instance I myself would rather be content to follow the liberal judgment which could confess "that Xenophon frequently departs from his country's usage[2]," than be a slave to the despotism of a critic who could dictate, "in cæteris

[1] G. C. Lewis, *Journ. Philol.* II. pp. 1—44.
[2] Shilleto on Thuc. I. 43. 2.

librariorum errores sedulo correxi, vitiosas vocabulorum formas ad certam Atticorum consuetudinem redegi, insulsa sciolorum additamenta sustuli, et ubique hoc egi ut Hellenica sine offensione legi et explicari possent[1]." In particular, I have endeavoured to preserve throughout the reading of the Manuscripts, especially that of B and D; and have followed in the main the accurate judgment of Sauppe.

These editions and treatises moreover have been used in the preparation of this instalment of the Hellenics: *Histories of Greece*—Mitford, Thirlwall, and Grote: Xenophon's *Hellenics*—Schneider, 1849; Breitenbach, 1853; Dindorf, 1853 and 1876; Hickie (Book I), 1842; Cobet, 1862; G. Sauppe, 1866; Emil Kurz, 1873; B. Büchsenschütz, 1876; J. S. Philpotts (Selections), 1876: Sturz's *Lexicon Xenophonteum*: Sauppe's *Lexilogus Xenophonteus*, 1869: G. C. Lewis, "the Hellenics of Xenophon and their division into Books," *Journ. Phil.*, pp. 1—44, 1844: Mure, *Language and Literature of Ancient Greece*, 1857: G. Vollbrecht, *Dissert. de Xen. Hellen.*, 1874: *Hellenics*, literally translated by J. S. Watson, and H. Dale, 1876.

For further information I am indebted to Jelf's *Greek Grammar*, Arnold's *Thucydides*, Macmichael's *Anabasis*, &c. &c.

[1] Cobet, *Præf. Hellen.*

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# LIFE OF XENOPHON.

Xenophon, the son of Gryllus, was an Athenian by birth. Lucian tells us that he lived to the age of ninety years; and the historian himself relates the assassination of Alexander, tyrant of Pheræ, which took place about 357 B.C. In addition to this we find him present at a banquet given by Callias in honour of Autolycus "victor among the boys" in the pancratium 421 B.C., on which occasion he would probably be somewhat under sixteen years of age. Phalinus also addresses him as "young man" (*i.e.* under forty) 401 B.C. He runs to the battle-rescue 400 B.C. in company with comrades "not yet aged thirty." The date of his birth may therefore reasonably be placed between 435 and 431 B.C.

Xenophon himself speaks thus of his first introduction to the service of Cyrus—"that Proxenus, an ancient guest-friend, had sent for him with promises that if he willed to join the expedition, he would gain for him the friendship of Cyrus; that such a patron would be of more service than his native country." Accordingly he spoke with Socrates on the matter: and Socrates, fearing lest friendship with Cyrus might make him mischief in his own land, bade him enquire of the God at Delphi concerning the journey. And Xenophon, neglecting to ask whether he should even

join the adventure, sought to which of all the deities he should sacrifice and so be prosperous in his voyage. The God answered him to which he should do sacrifice; but Socrates blamed him that he had not asked whether it would be well indeed to journey forth or stay at home. Then Socrates bade him go: and Xenophon did sacrifice, and sailed away to Sardis. It appears that the historian did not join the march either as an officer or soldier, but as a civilian or volunteer: during his ordinary education however as an Athenian citizen, he would have learnt much of military duties, and his rank amongst the Knights would enable him to acquit himself well in respect of horsemanship. The expedition at first was represented as against the Pisidians; but, on arriving at Cilicia, it was plain that the object of Cyrus was to attack his king and brother Artaxerxes. Accordingly the armament marched, though not without many murmurs of much discontent, eastward: and on the plains of Cunaxa they met the great King and all his Persian host. Cyrus was burning with vindictive anger against his brother, and impetuously called to the Spartan Clearchus to charge the Persian centre, where Artaxerxes commanded himself in person. Clearchus replied that it was his duty to see that all should go well. The omens were favourable; the pæan sounded, and the left wing of the Persians broken fled; and Cyrus was saluted king. But Artaxerxes was not yet slain; and maddened with fury the usurper struck a blow at his brother's breast: at the same time wounded with a javelin he himself fell with eight of his chiefs. The victorious Greeks

meanwhile followed up their success still further; and the remaining Persian soldiers were pursued and routed. Offers of mediation then came from Artaxerxes: and after a month's delay it was agreed that Tissaphernes should escort the Greeks homeward to Ionia. But the security of their return was to be interrupted by the murder of their five generals through the perfidy of the Satrap: and the Spartan Clearchus was to suffer a traitor's death. It is here that amidst the universal despondency of his countrymen Xenophon stands forward as the champion-leader of the Return. Prompted by a vision he rouses his comrades from despair with remembrances of the valour which they had put forth against the Barbarian; and he is elected general by acclamation in the room of his murdered friend. The order and line of march is then determined on; Chirisophus will lead the van, and he himself with Timasion will take charge of the rear. The route lies up the left bank of the Tigris; and the Persians harass the retreating army with assaults of archers and slingers. A counter-force of fifty horsemen and two hundred Rhodian slingers however soon enabled Xenophon to lead his troops unmolested over the deep ravine which lay before them; and on the twentieth day's march they reached the mountain country of the Carduchi. And here they had to encounter constantly, in exchange for the organized attack of Tissaphernes, the irregular sallies and guerilla warfare of the mountaineers: until after scaling a lofty pass, while Xenophon and the main army were following the direct route through showers of rock and stone, which the

inhabitants rolled over their heads, at length they encamped on the banks of the Centrites. Before them were ranged fresh hosts of cavalry and infantry; and no penetrable ford appeared. But as Xenophon lay down, he dreamed there fell off from his hands fresh chains; and at the morning meal there ran into his tent two soldiers with word that a passage lay open across the stream, where no cavalry could approach; and the whole army went over the ford with safety. So the table-lands of Western Armenia came to view; and on the third day snow fell thick around them. Terrible in very truth were the distresses and suffering of the travellers; and not Xenophon's own energy and active example could save very many from giving themselves over to their fate. An assault on the camp of the traitor Tiribazus did much indeed to relieve their ravenous hunger: and after fording the Euphrates, on the ninth day they were destined to obtain rest in the neighbouring village settlement. The march was shortly renewed: and after passing through a succession of native tribes, whose warfare and weapons were similar to those of the Carduchi, they came upon the city Gymnias. Thence conducted by a guide they ascended the hill-summit of Theches. And as they went up, suddenly a mighty shout arose, "The Sea, the Sea." And so amidst embraces and many tears they knew that they had passed free out of the mysterious hill-country of the Barbarian. A week's journey brought them to Trapezus: and games were celebrated, and sacrifice was offered. And now after so long a land-march a general desire took the weary soldiers to sail in ship to By-

zantium, where Anaxibius was high-admiral; and Chirisophus was sent thither to bring transports. But Chirisophus did not return; and the army journeyed on to Cerasus, and thence to Cotyora. And about this time Xenophon conceived the plan of establishing his fellow-warriors in a colonial settlement on the shore of the Euxine; but after much discussion in the army the project was abandoned. They therefore sailed forth to Harmene near Sinope, where Chirisophus met them with the message that Anaxibius would have them seek military service with him at the Bosphorus. It was here that Xenophon (the omens dissuading him) declined to lead into Greece the returning troops; and Chirisophus was invested with the dignity of commander-in-chief. Heraclea was reached after two days' voyage; where a serious mutiny broke up the army into three divisions, all of whom however mustered again at Calpe. Here Chirisophus died; and in this harbour more than ever did Xenophon long to found a resting-place. But the minds of his followers were set on seeing fatherland; while the omens for departure day by day continued to be unfavourable. At this point Cleander came from Byzantium, and induced by Xenophon's persuasive eloquence promised to conduct the Return. But the Gods willed it not; and so he sailed away. Six days' march brought them onwards to Chrysopolis, whence Anaxibius, high-admiral, deluded the impoverished Greeks to Byzantium. The promised pay was not delivered; and Byzantium was only saved from plunder and destruction through the tact and prudence of Xenophon himself. The army here-

upon disbanded; and Xenophon took his leave, and sailed with Anaxibius homewards. At Cyzicus they met the new harmost Aristarchus, with whom Pharnabazus had already commenced negotiations; and Anaxibius prevailed on Xenophon to bring across the Cyreian forces to his aid in punishment of the satrap's broken confidence. But an exchange for the service of the Thracian Seuthes drew off the soldiers, who after the hardships of a winter campaign were with difficulty able to obtain payment from the reinstated prince. An invitation here arrived, with offers of service against the Persian satraps, from the Ionian harmost Thimbron, to whom Xenophon resigned all that survived from the Ten Thousand. And the last fact recorded in the history of their march is the plunder of the castle of Aridatis, a wealthy Persian nobleman, near Pergamus.

About the time of his return from Thrace into Asia, after service with prince Seuthes, the historian probably received sentence of banishment from Athens on a charge of Laconism, *i.e.* as having been an ally of Cyrus, the Lacedæmonian friend and patron: although by some he is said to have returned to Athens, and there collected materials of the conversations of his master Socrates—that same Socrates, who, as tradition tells us, would have the modest boy follow him and learn whence men became good and noble, and who at Delium had borne him on his shoulders from the battle. In the latter case his service in the Lacedæmonian ranks at Coronea 394 B.C. furnishes his cause of exile. However this may be, within the fourth year after the conclusion of the Return, he accompanied Agesilaus

in his invasion of Northern Greece against the newly allied Thebans and Athenians; and was present at the battle of Coronea. Not long after he found a home at Scillus near Olympia; and there he built a temple to Diana, whom he enriched with spoil from his Cyreian marches; and games were instituted against the festival, and he followed hunting, and feasted friends, and tilled his lands; and in this retirement wrote his Histories. We may wish that he was not compelled to abandon his home at Scillus, though we are told that after Leuctra, 374 B.C., he was forced to fly to Corinth. Subsequently his sentence of banishment was revoked: and he became again an Athenian citizen and knight. His son Gryllus fell fighting bravely at Mantinea 362 B.C.

# CHARACTER AND WRITINGS OF XENOPHON.

(1) The moral qualities of our historian may be mainly gathered from a review of his conduct while engaged in conducting the retreat of the Ten Thousand. On more than one occasion Xenophon here stands forward as of intrepid courage, keen tact, and never-failing energy. Unlike many of his fellow-generals, he seeks no personal aggrandizement: the soldier is his friend, and not his slave: he is at once kind-hearted, temperate, and affable. Retaliation for wrong and obloquy is unknown to him: injustice is repaid with justice, meanness is met with generosity. When character and country are assailed, he can make a smart retort; and his opponents never fail to find an apt reply from him. Imbued with the precepts of his mentor Socrates, he sets high faith in divinations, dreams, and omens: Zeus, Apollo, and Artemis are amongst his favourite objects of worship. As a husband and a father he preserves the ordinary principles of Greek morality; and to plunder a barbarian seems to him in strict accordance with the equity of warfare. A natural love of novelty, although it seldom overcomes his prudence, yet betrays him into varied fortune: he exchanges the life of a man of letters for a soldier's lot, a soldier's hardships for

the quiet retirement of a country farm, with an indifferent evenness of spirit. The spur of adventurous ambition prompts him to arms against his fellow-citizens: distaste for a corrupt democracy calls forth strong foreign partialities: but the constant patience of an amiable mind will have him confess no shame and no regret at his country's condemnation of unfaithfulness.

(2) Diogenes Laertius ascribes the following works to Xenophon, all of which we now possess: *Hellenica, Anabasis, Cyropædeia, Polity of Athens, Polity of Sparta, Memorabilia of Socrates, Apology of Socrates, Symposium, Agesilaus, Hiero, On Economics, On the Athenian Revenues, Hipparchicus, On Horsemanship, On Hunting.* Over this varied field of subjects flows forth constantly a pleasing elegance of language, which renders and will render our historian dear to the scholars of Greek antiquity. And so it was that with the ancient critics such delightsomeness won for Xenophon the names of "Attic Bee," and "Attic Muse." Cicero would fain believe "that with his mouth spoke the Muses, for his language is sweeter than honey." Quintilian ascribes to him "an unaffected sweetness, to which no affectation could attain—that Pericles' declaration of the ancient comedy could with justice be transferred to him, that on *his* lips sat the goddess of Persuasion." The purity of his periods, the choice selection of his phrases, his grace of style cannot but be attractive; and we find the surface of such a model present to our touch little we would desire to smooth away. He will not strive indeed to sculpture his conversations after the mighty statues

of the rhetorical Thucydides: we miss alike the kindling poetry of the impassioned Plato: and hence a certain slenderness of diction often assumes the place of more majestic dignity. Elaborate style and subtlety of words are equally absent from his purpose: poetical expression he may introduce but not develope: an even and unstudied perspicuity will not admit the depth of more obscure research. The essential manliness of the historian-soldier favours his scenes of warfare, rather than of drama; while an aversion to affected labour disregards much intricate detail. His speeches are well-chosen, and display strong vigour: philosophy with him only dictates a practical morality. A want of patriotism may lend a colour to his adopted creed: but the truth of history never suffers at his hands deliberate disguise.

# HISTORICAL NOTICE.

THE period comprised in the first two books of Xenophon's Hellenics (411—403 B.C.) embraces the closing scenes of the memorable war between Athens and Sparta. Thucydides, at the commencement of his writings, states emphatically the importance of his subject, with which the earlier periods of Grecian History could afford no comparison. The real cause of the war, we shall remember, was the fear entertained by the Lacedæmonians of the growing power of Athens, a fear which had gradually increased since the rebuilding of the city walls and the fortification of the great harbour of Piræus: the alleged causes, the alliance of Athens with Corcyra and the siege of Potidæa. Ever since the battles of Platæa and Mycale (479 B.C.) the maritime empire of Athens, based upon the confederacy of Delos, had gradually risen in greatness: the Athenian allies had become her subjects (owing rather to circumstances perhaps than to any positive aggression), and the independence of Greece was threatened. At that crisis the high influence of Pericles prevented any concession on the part of Athens towards the independence of her allies, which was then required by the congress of the Lacedæmonian states; and open hostilities commenced (431 B.C.). Following the events of the war, we shall call to mind the sufferings caused

by the annual invasion of the Lacedæmonians into the Athenian territory—the terrible visitation of the pestilence, and the violent excesses consequent upon its ravages (430 B.C.)—the revolt of Mitylene, and the severe punishment of its inhabitants (428—427 B.C.)—the blockade of Sphacteria, and the unexpected capture of the Lacedæmonian prisoners (425 B.C.). In the eighth year of the war (424 B.C.), the failure to reconquer Megara, and the disastrous defeat of Delium began to mar the success which had hitherto attended the Athenian arms: in addition to which, several important towns in Thrace, including Amphipolis, fell into the hands of Brasidas. A truce thereupon ensued for a year, and early in the spring of 421 B.C., what is called the Peace of Nicias, was concluded on the basis of a general restoration of all places taken in the war, the Athenians only keeping Nisæa in compensation for the Theban Platæa. The year 420 B.C., however, found the Spartan allies generally dissatisfied with the peace; and next comes the ascendency of Alcibiades, leading to the two years' campaign in Peloponnesus in conjunction with Elis, Argos, and Mantinea, and ending in the complete re-establishment of Lacedæmonian supremacy. The seventeenth year of the war (415 B.C.) saw the departure of the Athenian expedition to Sicily: the eighteenth, the preparations of Nicias for the siege of Syracuse, and the arrival of the Spartan general Gylippus: the nineteenth, the total destruction of the Athenian armament in Sicily. Such a defeat naturally encouraged a general revolt of the Athenian allies; and we find Samos alone remaining firm in her allegiance, and henceforward the head-quarters of the

Athenian fleet. Lesbos was recovered 411 B.C.; and at the suggestion of Alcibiades, the democracy was abolished, and the oligarchical government of the Four Hundred reigned supreme at Athens. These, in their turn, were overthrown: the proposed assembly of 5000 was demanded, and a fair and effective government established. Alcibiades meanwhile had been recalled, and the principal leaders of the 400 had fled to Decelea. With a short notice of several events on the coast of Asia, the history of Thucydides ends abruptly; and Xenophon sets forth the remaining details of the war from the winter of 411 B.C.

# SUMMARY OF EVENTS

## BOOK I.

### CHAPTER I.

Renewed combats in the Hellespont. Agesandridas defeats Thymochares. Dorieus sails up from Rhodes, evades Athenian fleet, is succoured by Mindarus. Obstinate conflict off Abydus. Alcibiades ensures victory for Athenians (§§ 1—7).

Alcibiades seized by Tissaphernes and confined at Sardis. Escapes to Clazomenæ: joins forces with Thrasybulus and Theramenes. Athenian victory at Cyzicus: Mindarus slain: Peloponnesian fleet taken (§§ 8—19).

Ransom exacted from Cyzicus, Perinthus, and Selybria. Chrysopolis occupied: toll levied on passing ships. Pharnabazus aids discouraged Lacedæmonians (§§ 20—26).

Banishment of Hermocrates and colleagues. Lacedæmonians expelled from Thasos. Repulse of Agis before walls of Athens. Clearchus sent to Byzantium. Carthaginians take Selinus and Himera (§§ 27—37).

### CHAPTER II.

Thoricus fortified. Thrasyllus sails to Samos. Ravages Pygela and takes Colophon. Is defeated with severe loss at Ephesus by Tissaphernes and Syracusans (§§ 1—11).

Takes four Syracusan vessels off Lesbos. Joins Alcibiades and Athenian armament at Sestus. United forces fortify Lampsacus, and establish winter-quarters. Soldiers of Alcibiades refuse to fraternize with those of Thrasyllus. Joint ex-

pedition against Abydus: defeat of Pharnabazus. Concord in Athenian ranks (§§ 12—17).

Lacedæmonians dismiss under treaty from Pylos revolted Helots. Achæans at Heraclea in Trachis betray settlers. Labotas governor from Sparta slain with seven hundred. Revolt of Medes from Darius and subsequent submission (§§ 18, 19).

## CHAPTER III.

Temple at Phocæa struck by lightning. Athenians attack Calchedon. Alcibiades extorts Calchedonians' property from Bithynian Thracians. Hippocrates governor from Sparta slain in defence of Calchedon (§§ 1—6).

Convention concluded by Athenians with Pharnabazus. Calchedon becomes a tributary dependency of Athens. Pharnabazus engages to escort Athenian envoys to Susa. Special covenant of Alcibiades with the satrap (§§ 7—13).

Byzantium besieged by Athenians. Failure of assault. Clearchus seeks aid from Pharnabazus. Citizens meanwhile pressed by famine admit Alcibiades and Athenians. Surrender of Byzantium (§§ 14—22).

## CHAPTER IV.

Lacedæmonian embassy favourably received at Persian court. Pharnabazus detains Athenian envoys at Cyrus' instigation. Unlimited authority over sea-coast entrusted to Cyrus. Envoys sent back from Cappadocia in third year to Athenian armament (§§ 1—7).

Alcibiades brings Athenian fleet to Samos: levies one hundred talents on coast of Caria. Thrasybulus attacks Thrace: reduces Thasos and revolted towns. Thrasyllus conducts remaining armament to Athens. Alcibiades in exile elected general (§§ 8—10).

Return of Alcibiades to Athens. Visits Paros and Gythium. Arrives at Piræus on festival of Plynteria. Varied sentiment and feelings of Athenians (§§ 11—17).

Hesitation and distrust of Alcibiades on landing. Support of friends and kinsmen. Defends himself in council and

assembly. Is proclaimed general with full powers. Renews procession by land to Eleusis. Sails against Andros, thence to Samos (§§ 18—23).

## CHAPTER V.

Lysander supersedes Cratesippidas as high-admiral. Sails by Rhodes Cos and Miletus to Ephesus. Lacedæmonian complaints before Cyrus of Tissaphernes. Promises of Cyrus. Increase of seamen's pay. Athenian envoys not received by Cyrus. Lysander refits at Ephesus (§§ 1—10).

Alcibiades joins Thrasybulus at Phocæa. Athenian fleet left at Samos under Antiochus. Defeat of Antiochus at Notium during absence of Alcibiades. Lysander refuses engagement with Alcibiades before harbour of Ephesus. Lacedæmonians take Delphinium and Eion (§§ 11—15).

Displeasure at Athens against Alcibiades. Conon named general with nine colleagues. Complaints against Alcibiades in camp. Retires to Thracian Chersonese. Phanosthenes captures two Thurian triremes. Dorieus liberated. Conon plunders enemy's coasts. Carthaginians reduce Agrigentum by famine (§§ 16—21).

## CHAPTER VI.

Callicratidas supersedes Lysander. Silences the boasts of Lysander. Murmurs and ill-will repressed by his rectitude. Refuses to court Persians. His appeal to the Milesians. Receives supplies from Miletus and Chios (§§ 1—12).

Storms Methymna. Liberates captives and Athenian garrison. Blockades Conon and Athenian fleet at Mitylene. Strong position of Callicratidas. Stratagem of Conon to send for relief to Athens. Callicratidas defeats squadron of Diomedon (§§ 13—23).

Great Athenian fleet equipped and sent to Arginusæ. Callicratidas leaves Eteonicus with fifty sail at Mitylene, himself withdraws to Cape Malea. Marshalling of respective fleets. Battle of Arginusæ. Defeat of Lacedæmonians, and death of Callicratidas. Eteonicus escapes to Chios (§§ 24—38).

## CHAPTER VII.

Recal of generals except Conon. Adimantus and Philocles named colleagues. Protomachus and Aristogenes abscond. Archedemus brings Erasinides to trial. Arrest of remaining generals by senate on motion of Timocrates. Debate in public assembly. Theramenes accuses generals of not saving shipwrecked crews (§§ 1—4).

Defence of generals favourably received. Adjournment to future assembly. Method of trial entrusted to senate. Occurrence of Apaturian festival. Unconstitutional proposition of Callixenus. Assembly inflamed by narrative of shipwrecked seamen (§§ 5—11).

Opposition by Euryptolemus. Lyciscus threatens opponents. Euryptolemus withdraws indictment against Callixenus. Opposition by presidents of assembly overruled. Socrates alone refuses to put the question (§§ 12—15).

Amendment and speech of Euryptolemus. Moves separate trial for generals according to decree of Cannonus. Amendment carried by show of hands. Objection on oath of Menecles. Six generals condemned and executed. Subsequent repentance of Athenians. Impeachment of Callixenus and others proposed. Escape of prisoners. Disgrace and death of Callixenus (§§ 16—35).

# BOOK II.

## CHAPTER I.

Eteonicus suppresses plot of his distressed forces to plunder Chios. Levies money upon the Chians. Allies ask for Lysander as high-admiral. Is sent as vice-admiral. Cyrus puts to death Autoboesaces and Mitræus (§§ 1—9).

Lysander summons Eteonicus from Chios and refits fleet. Solicits and receives supplies from Cyrus. Tributes and revenues assigned to him by Cyrus, who goes up to visit his dying father. Storms Cedreæ and sails to Rhodes (§§ 10—15).

Athenians plunder King's country. Lysander sails to Abydus and storms Lampsacus. Athenian fleet anchors at Elæus. Proceeds to Sestus and Ægospotami. Lysander declines battle. Athenians reject advice of Alcibiades (§§ 16—26).

Surprise and capture of Athenian fleet. Athenian commanders taken except Conon, who seeks refuge with Evagoras in Cyprus. Massacre of Philocles and prisoners. Adimantus alone saved alive (§§ 27—32).

## CHAPTER II.

Lysander occupies Byzantium and Calchedon. Sends the garrisons which surrender to Athens. Refits at Lampsacus. State-ship Paralus brings news of defeat at Ægospotami to Athens. Citizens prepare for siege (§§ 1—4).

Lysander establishes oligarchy in Lesbos. Eteonicus spreads revolt Thrace-ward. Samos alone continues Athenian allegiance. Pausanias encamps in the Academy. Lysander restores Æginetans and Melians and blockades Piræus (§§ 5—9).

Sufferings at Athens. Amnesty proposed and adopted. Ravages of famine. Propositions for capitulation refused by ephors. Lacedæmonians require demolition of long walls. Archestratus imprisoned for proposing to submit to demands. Theramenes sent as envoy to Lysander. After delay reports necessity of treating with ephors (§§ 10—17).

Theramenes sent to Sparta to conclude peace on any terms. Debate about terms at Sparta. Corinthians and Thebans deprecate truce. Peace granted on severe conditions. Surrender of Athens: demolition of long walls: Piræus dismantled: fleet given up. Dionysius tyrant of Syracuse (§§ 18—24).

## CHAPTER III.

Nomination of the Thirty. Agis disbands army. Lycophron of Pheræ defeats Larisæans and others. Dionysius loses Gela and Camarina to Carthaginians. Lysander restores oligarchy at Samos. His triumphant return to Sparta (§§ 1—10).

Thirty delay to draw up laws. New Senate appointed. Execution of democrats without trial. Lacedæmonian garrison introduced with Callibius as Governor. Multiplied and indiscriminate executions by the Thirty (§§ 11—14).

Dissentient views of Critias and Theramenes. Opposition of Theramenes to violent measures. Critias and Thirty nominate three thousand partisans. Remaining hoplites disarmed. Murders and spoliations by the Thirty. Seizure of resident aliens (§§ 15—21).

Theramenes refuses to join in seizure. Is denounced by Critias in Senate. Speech of Critias. Reply of Theramenes favourably received. Violence of Critias. Condemnation, seizure, and death of Theramenes (§§ 22—56).

## CHAPTER IV.

Increased tyranny of the Thirty. Thrasybulus occupies Phyle from Thebes. Reinforced by exiles repulses Thirty. Attacks and defeats enemy by surprise. Thirty seize Eleusis by stratagem. Execution of Eleusinians at Athens (§§ 1—9).

Thrasybulus marches by night to Piræus. Occupies Munychia and defeats Thirty. Critias slain. Colloquy during burial-truce. Speech of Cleocritus. Discouragement of oligarchs. Deposition of Thirty and appointment of Ten (§§ 10—23).

Thirty retire to Eleusis. Ten carry on war with exiles. Increasing strength of Thrasybulus. Lysander invited by Thirty visits Attica to reduce exiles. Pausanias envying Lysander joins forces (§§ 24—30).

Pausanias attacks Piræus with partial success. Favours cause of peace. Embassy sent to Sparta on question of peace. Pacification granted by Pausanias and Lacedæmonian authorities. Evacuation of Attica. Thrasybulus and exiles restored. Harangue of Thrasybulus. Restoration of democracy. Capture of Eleusis. General amnesty (§§ 31—43).

# ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΑ.

## Α.

A. C. 411. ΜΕΤΑ δὲ ταῦτα οὐ πολλαῖς ἡμέραις 1
ὕστερον ἦλθεν ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν Θυμοχάρης ἔχων ναῦς ὀλίγας· καὶ εὐθὺς ἐναυμάχησαν αὖθις Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐνίκησαν δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἡγουμένου Ἀγησανδρίδου. μετ᾽ ὀλίγον 2
δὲ τούτων Δωριεὺς ὁ Διαγόρου ἐκ Ῥόδου εἰς Ἑλλήσποντον εἰσέπλει ἀρχομένου χειμῶνος τέτταρσι καὶ δέκα ναυσὶν ἅμα ἡμέρᾳ. κατιδὼν δὲ ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἡμεροσκόπος ἐσήμηνε τοῖς στρατηγοῖς. οἱ δὲ ἀνηγάγοντο ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν εἴκοσι ναυσίν, ἃς ὁ Δωριεὺς φυγὼν πρὸς τὴν γῆν ἀνεβίβαζε τὰς αὑτοῦ τριήρεις, ὡς ἤνοιγε, περὶ τὸ Ῥοίτειον. ἐγγὺς δὲ 3
γενομένων τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐμάχοντο ἀπό τε τῶν νεῶν καὶ τῆς γῆς, μέχρι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπέπλευσαν εἰς Μάδυτον πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο στρατόπεδον οὐδὲν πράξαντες. Μίνδαρος δὲ κατιδὼν τὴν μάχην ἐν Ἰλίῳ 4
θύων τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ ἐβοήθει ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν καὶ καθελκύσας τὰς ἑαυτοῦ τριήρεις ἀπέπλει, ὅπως

5 ἀναλάβοι τὰς μετὰ Δωριέως. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀν-
ταναγόμενοι ἐναυμάχησαν περὶ Ἄβυδον κατὰ τὴν
ἠϊόνα μέχρι δείλης ἐξ ἑωθινοῦ. καὶ τὰ μὲν νικών-
των, τὰ δὲ νικωμένων, Ἀλκιβιάδης ἐπεισπλεῖ δυοῖν
6 δεούσαις εἴκοσι ναυσίν. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ φυγὴ τῶν Πε-
λοποννησίων ἐγένετο πρὸς τὴν Ἄβυδον· καὶ ὁ
Φαρνάβαζος παρεβοήθει καὶ ἐπεισβαίνων τῷ ἵππῳ
εἰς τὴν θάλατταν μέχρι δυνατὸν ἦν ἐμάχετο καὶ
τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς αὐτοῦ ἱππεῦσι καὶ πεζοῖς παρε-
7 κελεύετο. συμφράξαντες δὲ τὰς ναῦς οἱ Πελοπον-
νήσιοι καὶ παραταξάμενοι πρὸς τῇ γῇ ἐμάχοντο.
Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἀπέπλευσαν, τριάκοντα ναῦς τῶν
πολεμίων λαβόντες κενὰς καὶ ἃς αὐτοὶ ἀπώλεσαν
8 κομισάμενοι, εἰς Σηστόν. ἐντεῦθεν πλὴν τετταρά-
κοντα νεῶν ἄλλαι ἄλλῃ ᾤχοντο ἐπ᾽ ἀργυρολογίαν
ἔξω τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου· καὶ ὁ Θρασύλος, εἷς ὢν
τῶν στρατηγῶν, εἰς Ἀθήνας ἔπλευσε ταῦτα ἐξαγ-
9 γελῶν καὶ στρατιὰν καὶ ναῦς αἰτήσων. μετὰ δὲ
ταῦτα Τισσαφέρνης ἦλθεν εἰς Ἑλλήσποντον· ἀφι-
κόμενον δὲ παρ᾽ αὐτὸν μιᾷ τριήρει Ἀλκιβιάδην
ξένιά τε καὶ δῶρα ἄγοντα συλλαβὼν εἷρξεν ἐν
Σάρδεσι, φάσκων κελεύειν βασιλέα πολεμεῖν Ἀθη-
10 ναίοις. ἡμέραις δὲ τριάκοντα ὕστερον Ἀλκιβιά-
δης ἐκ Σάρδεων μετὰ Μαντιθέου τοῦ ἁλόντος ἐν
Καρίᾳ ἵππων εὐπορήσαντες νυκτὸς ἀπέδρασαν
11 εἰς Κλαζομενάς. οἱ δ᾽ ἐν Σηστῷ Ἀθηναῖοι,
A. C. 410. αἰσθόμενοι Μίνδαρον πλεῖν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς
μέλλοντα ναυσὶν ἑξήκοντα, νυκτὸς ἀπέ-
δρασαν εἰς Καρδίαν. ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδης
ἧκεν ἐκ τῶν Κλαζομενῶν σὺν πέντε τριήρεσι καὶ

ἐπακτρίδι. πυθόμενος δὲ ὅτι αἱ τῶν Πελοποννη-
σίων νῆες ἐξ Ἀβύδου ἀνηγμέναι εἶεν εἰς Κύζικον
αὐτὸς μὲν πεζῇ ἦλθεν εἰς Σηστόν, τὰς δὲ ναῦς περι-
πλεῖν ἐκεῖσε ἐκέλευσεν. ἐπεὶ δ᾽ ἦλθον, ἀνάγεσθαι 12
ἤδη αὐτοῦ μέλλοντος ὡς ἐπὶ ναυμαχίαν, ἐπεισπλεῖ
Θηραμένης εἴκοσι ναυσὶν ἀπὸ Μακεδονίας, ἅμα δὲ
καὶ Θρασύβουλος εἴκοσιν ἑτέραις ἐκ Θάσου, ἀμφό-
τεροι ἠργυρολογηκότες. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ εἰπὼν καὶ 13
τούτοις διώκειν αὐτὸν ἐξελομένοις τὰ μεγάλα ἱστία
αὐτὸς ἔπλευσεν εἰς Πάριον· ἀθρόαι δὲ γενόμεναι αἱ
νῆες ἅπασαι ἐν Παρίῳ ἓξ καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα τῆς ἐπι-
ούσης νυκτὸς ἀνηγάγοντο, καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ ἡμέρᾳ περὶ
ἀρίστου ὥραν ἧκον εἰς Προικόννησον. ἐκεῖ δ᾽ ἐπύ- 14
θοντο ὅτι Μίνδαρος ἐν Κυζίκῳ εἴη καὶ Φαρνάβαζος
μετὰ τοῦ πεζοῦ. ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν ἡμέραν αὐτοῦ
ἔμειναν, τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ Ἀλκιβιάδης ἐκκλησίαν
ποιήσας παρεκελεύετο αὐτοῖς, ὅτι ἀνάγκη εἴη καὶ
ναυμαχεῖν καὶ πεζομαχεῖν καὶ τειχομαχεῖν· Οὐ γὰρ
ἔστιν, ἔφη, χρήματα ἡμῖν, τοῖς δὲ πολεμίοις ἄφ-
θονα παρὰ βασιλέως. τῇ δὲ προτεραίᾳ, ἐπειδὴ 15
ὡρμίσαντο, τὰ πλοῖα πάντα καὶ τὰ μικρὰ συνή-
θροισε παρ᾽ ἑαυτόν, ὅπως μηδεὶς ἐξαγγείλαι τοῖς
πολεμίοις τὸ πλῆθος τῶν νεῶν, ἐπεκήρυξέ τε, ὃς ἂν
ἁλίσκηται εἰς τὸ πέραν διαπλέων, θάνατον τὴν
ζημίαν. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν παρασκευασάμενος 16
ὡς ἐπὶ ναυμαχίαν ἀνηγάγετο ἐπὶ τὴν Κύζικον ὕοντος
πολλῷ. ἐπειδὴ δ᾽ ἐγγὺς τῆς Κυζίκου ἦν, αἰθρίας
γενομένης καὶ τοῦ ἡλίου ἐκλάμψαντος καθορᾷ τὰς
τοῦ Μινδάρου ναῦς γυμναζομένας πόρρω ἀπὸ τοῦ
λιμένος καὶ ἀπειλημμένας ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ, ἑξήκοντα

17 οὔσας. οἱ δὲ Πελοποννήσιοι ἰδόντες τὰς τῶν Ἀθη-
ναίων τριήρεις οὔσας πλείους τε πολλῷ ἢ πρότερον
καὶ πρὸς τῷ λιμένι ἔφυγον πρὸς τὴν γῆν· καὶ συνορ-
μίσαντες τὰς ναῦς ἐμάχοντο ἐπιπλέουσι τοῖς ἐναν-
18 τίοις. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ ταῖς εἴκοσι τῶν νεῶν περι-
πλεύσας ἀπέβη εἰς τὴν γῆν. ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ Μίνδαρος
καὶ αὐτὸς ἀποβὰς ἐν τῇ γῇ μαχόμενος ἀπέθανεν·
οἱ δὲ μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ ὄντες ἔφυγον. τὰς δὲ ναῦς οἱ
Ἀθηναῖοι ᾤχοντο ἄγοντες ἁπάσας εἰς Προικόννησον
πλὴν τῶν Συρακοσίων· ἐκείνας δὲ αὐτοὶ κατέκαυσαν
19 οἱ Συρακόσιοι. ἐκεῖθεν δὲ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἔπλεον οἱ
Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπὶ Κύζικον. οἱ δὲ Κυζικηνοὶ τῶν Πελο-
ποννησίων καὶ Φαρναβάζου ἐκλιπόντων αὐτὴν
20 ἐδέχοντο τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ μείνας
αὐτοῦ εἴκοσιν ἡμέρας καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ λαβὼν
παρὰ τῶν Κυζικηνῶν οὐδὲν ἄλλο κακὸν ἐργασά-
μενος ἐν τῇ πόλει ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς Προικόννησον.
21 ἐκεῖθεν δ᾽ ἔπλευσεν εἰς Πέρινθον καὶ Σηλυβρίαν.
καὶ Περίνθιοι μὲν εἰσεδέξαντο εἰς τὸ ἄστυ τὸ στρα-
τόπεδον· Σηλυβριανοὶ δὲ ἐδέξαντο μὲν οὔ, χρήματα
22 δὲ ἔδοσαν. ἐντεῦθεν δ᾽ ἀφικόμενοι τῆς Καλχηδονίας
εἰς Χρυσόπολιν ἐτείχισαν αὐτήν, καὶ δεκατευτήριον
κατεσκεύασαν ἐν αὐτῇ, καὶ τὴν δεκάτην ἐξέλεγον
τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου πλοίων, καὶ φυλακὴν ἐγκατα-
λιπόντες ναῦς τριάκοντα καὶ στρατηγὼ δύο, Θηρα-
μένην καὶ Εὔμαχον, τοῦ τε χωρίου ἐπιμελεῖσθαι
καὶ τῶν ἐκπλεόντων πλοίων καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο δύναιντο
βλάπτειν τοὺς πολεμίους. οἱ δ᾽ ἄλλοι στρατηγοὶ
23 εἰς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ᾤχοντο. ⸢παρὰ δὲ Ἱπποκρά-
τους τοῦ Μινδάρου ἐπιστολέως εἰς Λακεδαίμονα

γράμματα πεμφθέντα ἑάλωσαν εἰς Ἀθήνας λέγοντα
τάδε· Ἔρρει τὰ καλά. Μίνδαρος ἀπέσσυα. πει-
νῶντι τὤνδρες. ἀπορίομες τί χρὴ δρῆν. Φαρνά- 24
βαζος δὲ παντὶ τῷ τῶν Πελοποννησίων στρατεύ-
ματι καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις παρακελευσάμενος μὴ
ἀθυμεῖν ἕνεκα ξύλων, ὡς ὄντων πολλῶν ἐν τῇ
βασιλέως, ἕως ἂν τὰ σώματα σῶα ᾖ, ἱμάτιόν τ'
ἔδωκεν ἑκάστῳ καὶ ἐφόδιον δυοῖν μηνοῖν, καὶ ὁπλί-
σας τοὺς ναύτας φύλακας κατέστησε τῆς ἑαυτοῦ
παραθαλαττίας γῆς. καὶ συγκαλέσας τούς τε ἀπὸ 25
τῶν πόλεων στρατηγοὺς καὶ τριηράρχους ἐκέλευε
ναυπηγεῖσθαι τριήρεις ἐν Ἀντάνδρῳ ὅσας ἕκαστοι
ἀπώλεσαν, χρήματά τε διδοὺς καὶ ὕλην ἐκ τῆς
Ἴδης κομίζεσθαι φράζων. ναυπηγουμένων δὲ οἱ 26
Συρακόσιοι ἅμα τοῖς Ἀντανδρίοις τοῦ τείχους τι
ἐπετέλεσαν, καὶ ἐν τῇ φρουρᾷ ἤρεσαν πάντων μά-
λιστα. διὰ ταῦτα δὲ εὐεργεσία τε καὶ πολιτεία
Συρακοσίοις ἐν Ἀντάνδρῳ ἐστί. Φαρνάβαζος μὲν
οὖν ταῦτα διατάξας εὐθὺς εἰς Καλχηδόνα ἐβοήθει.

Ἐν δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ ἠγγέλθη τοῖς τῶν Συρα- 27
κοσίων στρατηγοῖς οἴκοθεν ὅτι φεύγοιεν ὑπὸ τοῦ
δήμου. συγκαλέσαντες οὖν τοὺς ἑαυτῶν στρατιώτας
Ἑρμοκράτους προηγοροῦντος ἀπωλοφύροντο τὴν
ἑαυτῶν συμφοράν, ὡς ἀδίκως φεύγοιεν ἅπαντες
παρὰ τὸν νόμον· παρῄνεσάν τε προθύμους εἶναι καὶ
τὰ λοιπά, ὥσπερ τὰ πρότερα, καὶ ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς
πρὸς τὰ ἀεὶ παραγγελλόμενα, μεμνημένους ὅσας τε
ναυμαχίας αὐτοὶ καθ' αὑτοὺς νενικήκατε καὶ ναῦς
εἰλήφατε, ὅσα τε μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀήττητοι γε-
γόνατε ἡμῶν ἡγουμένων, τάξιν ἔχοντες τὴν κρατίσ-

την διά τε τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀρετὴν καὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν
προθυμίαν καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν ὑπάρ-
χουσαν· ἑλέσθαι δὲ ἐκέλευον ἄρχοντας, μέχρι ἂν
28 ἀφίκωνται οἱ ᾑρημένοι ἀντ' ἐκείνων. οἱ δ' ἀναβοή-
σαντες ἐκέλευον ἐκείνους ἄρχειν καὶ μάλιστα οἱ
τριήραρχοι καὶ οἱ ἐπιβάται καὶ οἱ κυβερνῆται. οἱ
δ' οὐκ ἔφασαν δεῖν στασιάζειν πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτῶν
πόλιν· εἰ δέ τις ἐπικαλοίη τι αὐτοῖς, λόγον ἔφασαν
29 χρῆναι διδόναι. οὐδενὸς δὲ οὐδὲν ἐπαιτιωμένου,
δεομένων ἔμειναν ἕως ἀφίκοντο οἱ ἀντ' ἐκείνων
στρατηγοί, Δήμαρχός τε Ἐπιδόκου καὶ Μύσκων
Μενεκράτους καὶ Πόταμις Γνώσιος. τῶν δὲ τριη-
ράρχων ὀμόσαντες οἱ πλεῖστοι κατάξειν αὐτούς,
ἐπὰν εἰς Συρακούσας ἀφίκωνται, ἀπεπέμψαντο
30 ὅποι ἠβούλοντο πάντας ἐπαινοῦντες· ἰδίᾳ δὲ οἱ
πρὸς Ἑρμοκράτην προσομιλοῦντες μάλιστα ἐπό-
θησαν τήν τε ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ προθυμίαν καὶ κοινό-
τητα. ὧν γὰρ ἐγίγνωσκε τοὺς ἐπιεικεστάτους τῶν
τριηράρχων καὶ κυβερνητῶν καὶ ἐπιβατῶν ἑκάστης
ἡμέρας πρῴ καὶ πρὸς ἑσπέραν συναλίζων πρὸς τὴν
σκηνὴν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀνεξυνοῦτο ὅ,τι ἔμελλεν ἢ λέγειν
ἢ πράττειν, κἀκείνους ἐδίδασκε κελεύων λέγειν τὰ
μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ παραχρῆμα, τὰ δὲ βουλευσαμένους.
31 ἐκ τούτων Ἑρμοκράτης τὰ πολλὰ ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ
εὐδόξει, λέγειν τε δοκῶν καὶ βουλεύειν τὰ κράτιστα.
κατηγορήσας δὲ Τισσαφέρνους ἐν Λακεδαίμονι
Ἑρμοκράτης, μαρτυροῦντος καὶ Ἀστυόχου, καὶ
δόξας τὰ ὄντα λέγειν, ἀφικόμενος παρὰ Φαρνά-
βαζον, πρὶν αἰτῆσαι χρήματα λαβών, παρεσκευά-
ζετο πρὸς τὴν εἰς Συρακούσας κάθοδον ξένους τε

καὶ τριήρεις. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἧκον οἱ διάδοχοι τῶν Συρακοσίων εἰς Μίλητον καὶ παρέλαβον τὰς ναῦς καὶ τὸ στράτευμα.

Ἐν Θάσῳ δὲ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον στάσεως 32
γενομένης ἐκπίπτουσιν οἱ λακωνισταὶ καὶ ὁ Λάκων ἁρμοστὴς Ἐτεόνικος. καταιτιαθεὶς δὲ ταῦτα πρᾶξαι σὺν Τισσαφέρνει Πασιππίδας ὁ Λάκων ἔφυγεν ἐκ Σπάρτης· ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ ναυτικόν, ὃ ἐκεῖνος ἠθροίκει ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων, ἐξεπέμφθη Κρατησιππίδας, καὶ παρέλαβεν ἐν Χίῳ. περὶ δὲ τούτους τοὺς χρό- 33
νους Θρασύλου ἐν Ἀθήναις ὄντος Ἆγις ἐκ τῆς Δεκελείας προνομὴν ποιούμενος πρὸς αὐτὰ τὰ τείχη ἦλθε τῶν Ἀθηναίων· Θρασύλος δὲ ἐξαγαγὼν Ἀθηναίους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει ὄντας ἅπαντας παρέταξε παρὰ τὸ Λύκειον γυμνάσιον ὡς μαχούμενος, ἂν προσίωσιν. ἰδὼν δὲ ταῦτα Ἆγις 34
ἀπήγαγε ταχέως, καί τινες αὐτῶν ὀλίγοι τῶν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ὑπὸ τῶν ψιλῶν ἀπέθανον. οἱ οὖν Ἀθηναῖοι τῷ Θρασύλῳ διὰ ταῦτα ἔτι προθυμότεροι ἦσαν ἐφ' ἃ ἧκε, καὶ ἐψηφίσαντο ὁπλίτας τε αὐτὸν καταλέξασθαι χιλίους, ἱππέας δὲ ἑκατόν, τριήρεις δὲ πεντήκοντα. Ἆγις δὲ ἐκ τῆς Δεκελείας ἰδὼν πλοῖα 35
πολλὰ σίτου εἰς Πειραιᾶ καταθέοντα, οὐδὲν ὄφελος ἔφη εἶναι τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ πολὺν ἤδη χρόνον Ἀθηναίους εἴργειν τῆς γῆς, εἰ μή τις σχήσοι καὶ ὅθεν ὁ κατὰ θάλατταν σῖτος φοιτᾷ· κράτιστόν τε εἶναι καὶ Κλέαρχον τὸν Ῥαμφίου πρόξενον ὄντα Βυζαντίων πέμψαι εἰς Καλχηδόνα τε καὶ Βυζάντιον. δόξαντος 36
δὲ τούτου, πληρωθεισῶν νεῶν ἔκ τε Μεγάρων καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων πεντεκαίδεκα στρα-

τιωτίδων μᾶλλον ἢ ταχειῶν ᾤχετο. καὶ αὐτοῦ τῶν νεῶν τρεῖς ἀπόλλυνται ἐν τῷ Ἑλλησπόντῳ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀττικῶν ἐννέα νεῶν, αἳ ἀεὶ ἐνταῦθα τὰ πλοῖα διεφύλαττον, αἱ δ' ἄλλαι ἔφυγον εἰς Σηστόν,
37 ἐκεῖθεν δὲ εἰς Βυζάντιον ἐσώθησαν. καὶ ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς ἔληγεν, ἐν ᾧ Καρχηδόνιοι Ἀννίβα ἡγουμένου στρατεύσαντες ἐπὶ Σικελίαν δέκα μυριάσι στρατιᾶς αἱροῦσιν ἐν τρισὶ μησὶ δύο πόλεις Ἑλληνίδας Σελινοῦντα καὶ Ἱμέραν.

2 A. C. 409. Τῷ δὲ ἄλλῳ ἔτει, ᾧ ἦν Ὀλυμπιὰς τρίτη καὶ ἐνενηκοστή, ᾗ προστεθεῖσα ξυνωρὶς ἐνίκα Εὐαγόρου Ἠλείου, τὸ δὲ στάδιον Εὐβώτας Κυρηναῖος, ἐπὶ ἐφόρου μὲν ὄντος ἐν Σπάρτῃ Εὐαρχίππου, ἄρχοντος δ' ἐν Ἀθήναις Εὐκτήμονος, Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν Θορικὸν ἐτείχισαν, Θρασύλος δὲ τά τε ψηφισθέντα πλοῖα λαβὼν καὶ πεντακισχιλίους τῶν ναυτῶν πελταστὰς ποιησάμενος, ὡς ἅμα καὶ πελτασταῖς ἐσομένους, ἐξέπλευσεν ἀρχομένου τοῦ
2 θέρους εἰς Σάμον. ἐκεῖ δὲ μείνας τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἔπλευσεν εἰς Πύγελα· καὶ ἐνταῦθα τήν τε χώραν ἐδῄου καὶ προσέβαλλε τῷ τείχει. ἐκ δὲ τῆς Μιλήτου βοηθήσαντές τινες τοῖς Πυγελεῦσι διεσπαρμένους ὄντας τῶν Ἀθηναίων τοὺς ψιλοὺς ἐδίωκον.
3 οἱ δὲ πελτασταὶ καὶ τῶν ὁπλιτῶν δύο λόχοι βοηθήσαντες πρὸς τοὺς αὑτῶν ψιλοὺς ἀπέκτειναν ἅπαντας τοὺς ἐκ Μιλήτου ἐκτὸς ὀλίγων, καὶ ἀσπίδας
4 ἔλαβον ὡς διακοσίας, καὶ τρόπαιον ἔστησαν. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἔπλευσαν εἰς Νότιον, καὶ ἐντεῦθεν παρασκευασάμενοι ἐπορεύοντο εἰς Κολοφῶνα. Κολοφώνιοι δὲ προσεχώρησαν. καὶ τῆς ἐπιούσης

νυκτὸς ἐνέβαλον εἰς τὴν Λυδίαν ἀκμάζοντος τοῦ
σίτου, καὶ κώμας τε πολλὰς ἐνέπρησαν καὶ χρή-
ματα ἔλαβον καὶ ἀνδράποδα καὶ ἄλλην λείαν πολ-
λήν. Στάγης δὲ ὁ Πέρσης περὶ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία 5
ὤν, ἐπεὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου διεσκε-
δασμένοι ἦσαν κατὰ τὰς ἰδίας λείας, βοηθησάντων
τῶν ἱππέων ἕνα μὲν ζῳὸν ἔλαβεν, ἑπτὰ δὲ ἀπέκτεινε.
Θρασύλος δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπήγαγεν ἐπὶ θάλατταν 6
τὴν στρατιὰν ὡς εἰς Ἔφεσον πλευσόμενος. Τισσα-
φέρνης δὲ αἰσθόμενος τοῦτο τὸ ἐπιχείρημα στρατιάν
τε συνέλεγε πολλὴν καὶ ἱππεῖς ἀπέστελλε παραγ-
γέλλων πᾶσιν εἰς Ἔφεσον βοηθεῖν τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι.
Θρασύλος δὲ ἑβδόμῃ καὶ δεκάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ μετὰ τὴν 7
εἰσβολὴν εἰς Ἔφεσον ἔπλευσε, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ὁπλίτας
πρὸς τὸν Κορησσὸν ἀποβιβάσας, τοὺς δὲ ἱππεῖς καὶ
πελταστὰς καὶ ἐπιβάτας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας πρὸς
τὸ ἕλος ἐπὶ τὰ ἕτερα τῆς πόλεως, ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ προσ-
ῆγε δύο στρατόπεδα, οἱ δ' ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐβοήθησαν 8
σφίσιν, οἵ τε σύμμαχοι, οὓς Τισσαφέρνης ἤγαγε,
καὶ Συρακόσιοι οἵ τ' ἀπὸ τῶν προτέρων εἴκοσι νεῶν
καὶ ἀπὸ ἑτέρων πέντε, αἳ ἔτυχον τότε παραγενό-
μεναι, νεωστὶ ἥκουσαι μετὰ Εὐκλέους τε τοῦ Ἵπ-
πωνος καὶ Ἡρακλείδου τοῦ Ἀριστογένους στρατη-
γῶν, καὶ Σελινούσιαι δύο. οὗτοι δὲ πάντες πρῶτον 9
μὲν πρὸς τοὺς ὁπλίτας τοὺς ἐν Κορησσῷ ἐβοήθησαν·
τούτους δὲ τρεψάμενοι καὶ ἀποκτείναντες ἐξ αὐτῶν
ὡς εἰ ἑκατὸν καὶ εἰς τὴν θάλατταν καταδιώξαντες
πρὸς τοὺς παρὰ τὸ ἕλος ἐτράποντο. ἔφυγον δὲ
κἀκεῖ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ ἀπώλοντο αὐτῶν ὡς τρια-
κόσιοι. οἱ δὲ Ἐφέσιοι τρόπαιον ἐνταῦθα ἔστησαν 10

καὶ ἕτερον πρὸς τῷ Κορησσῷ. τοῖς δὲ Συρακοσίοις
καὶ Σελινουσίοις κρατίστοις γενομένοις ἀριστεῖα
ἔδωκαν καὶ κοινῇ καὶ ἰδίᾳ πολλοῖς, καὶ οἰκεῖν ἀτέ-
λειαν ἔδοσαν τῷ βουλομένῳ ἀεί· Σελινουσίοις δέ,
11 ἐπεὶ ἡ πόλις ἀπωλώλει, καὶ πολιτείαν ἔδοσαν. οἱ
δ' Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς νεκροὺς ὑποσπόνδους ἀπολαβόντες
ἀπέπλευσαν εἰς Νότιον, κἀκεῖ θάψαντες αὐτοὺς
12 ἔπλεον ἐπὶ Λέσβου καὶ Ἑλλησπόντου. ὁρμοῦντες
δὲ ἐν Μηθύμνῃ τῆς Λέσβου εἶδον παραπλεούσας
ἐξ Ἐφέσου τὰς Συρακοσίας ναῦς πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι·
καὶ ἐπ' αὐτὰς ἀναχθέντες τέτταρας μὲν ἔλαβον
αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσι, τὰς δ' ἄλλας κατεδίωξαν εἰς
13 Ἔφεσον. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους αἰχμαλώτους Θρα-
σύλος εἰς Ἀθήνας ἀπέπεμψε πάντας, Ἀλκιβιάδην
δὲ Ἀθηναῖον, Ἀλκιβιάδου ὄντα ἀνεψιὸν καὶ συμφυ-
γάδα, ἀπέλυσεν. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἔπλευσεν εἰς τὴν
Σηστὸν πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα· ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ἅπασα
14 ἡ στρατιὰ διέβη εἰς Λάμψακον. καὶ χειμὼν ἐπῄει,
ἐν ᾧ οἱ αἰχμάλωτοι Συρακόσιοι, εἱργμένοι τοῦ
Πειραιῶς ἐν λιθοτομίαις, διορύξαντες τὴν πέτραν,
ἀποδράντες νυκτὸς ᾤχοντο εἰς Δεκέλειαν, οἱ δ' εἰς
15 Μέγαρα. ἐν δὲ τῇ Λαμψάκῳ συντάττοντος Ἀλκι-
βιάδου τὸ στράτευμα πᾶν οἱ πρότεροι στρατιῶται
οὐκ ἠβούλοντο τοῖς μετὰ Θρασύλου συντάττεσθαι,
ὡς αὐτοὶ μὲν ὄντες ἀήττητοι, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ ἡττημένοι
ἥκοιεν. ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἐχείμαζον ἅπαντες Λάμψακον
16 τειχίζοντες. καὶ ἐστράτευσαν πρὸς Ἄβυδον· Φαρ-
νάβαζος δ' ἐβοήθησεν ἵπποις πολλοῖς, καὶ μάχῃ
ἡττηθεὶς ἔφυγεν. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ ἐδίωκεν ἔχων
τούς τε ἱππέας καὶ τῶν ὁπλιτῶν εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν,

ὧν ἦρχε Μένανδρος, μέχρι σκότος ἀφείλετο. ἐκ 17
δὲ τῆς μάχης ταύτης συνέβησαν οἱ στρατιῶται
αὐτοὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἠσπάζοντο τοὺς μετὰ Θρασύλου.
ἐξῆλθον δέ τινας καὶ ἄλλας ἐξόδους τοῦ χειμῶνος
εἰς τὴν ἤπειρον καὶ ἐπόρθουν τὴν βασιλέως χώραν.
τῷ δ' αὐτῷ χρόνῳ καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοὺς εἰς τὸ 18
Κορυφάσιον τῶν Εἱλώτων ἀφεστῶτας ἐκ Μαλέας
ὑποσπόνδους ἀφῆκαν. κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν
καὶ ἐν Ἡρακλείᾳ τῇ Τραχινίᾳ Ἀχαιοὶ τοὺς ἐποί-
κους, ἀντιτεταγμένων πάντων πρὸς Οἰταίους πολε-
μίους ὄντας, προέδοσαν, ὥστε ἀπολέσθαι αὐτῶν
πρὸς ἑπτακοσίους σὺν τῷ ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος ἁρμοστῇ
Λαβώτῃ. καὶ ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς ἔληγεν οὗτος, ἐν ᾧ καὶ 19
Μῆδοι ἀπὸ Δαρείου τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως ἀπο-
στάντες πάλιν προσεχώρησαν αὐτῷ.

A.C. 408. Τοῦ δ' ἐπιόντος ἔτους ὁ ἐν Φωκαίᾳ 3
νεὼς τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἐνεπρήσθη πρηστῆρος
ἐμπεσόντος. ἐπεὶ δ' ὁ χειμὼν ἔληγε, Παντακλέους
μὲν ἐφορεύοντος, ἄρχοντος δ' Ἀντιγένους, ἔαρος
ἀρχομένου, δυοῖν καὶ εἴκοσιν ἐτῶν τῷ πολέμῳ
παρεληλυθότων, οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἔπλευσαν εἰς Προι-
κόννησον παντὶ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ. ἐκεῖθεν δ' ἐπὶ 2
Καλχηδόνα καὶ Βυζάντιον ὁρμήσαντες ἐστρατοπε-
δεύσαντο πρὸς Καλχηδόνι. οἱ δὲ Καλχηδόνιοι
προσιόντας αἰσθόμενοι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τὴν λείαν
ἅπασαν κατέθεντο εἰς τοὺς Βιθυνοὺς Θρᾷκας ἀστυ-
γείτονας ὄντας. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ λαβὼν τῶν τε 3
ὁπλιτῶν ὀλίγους καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας, καὶ τὰς ναῦς
παραπλεῖν κελεύσας, ἐλθὼν εἰς τοὺς Βιθυνοὺς
ἀπῄτει τὰ τῶν Καλχηδονίων χρήματα· εἰ δὲ μή,

4 πολεμήσειν ἔφη αὐτοῖς. οἱ δὲ ἀπέδοσαν. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ ἐπεὶ ἧκεν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον τήν τε λείαν ἔχων καὶ πίστεις πεποιημένος, ἀπετείχιζε τὴν Καλχηδόνα παντὶ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἀπὸ θαλάττης εἰς θάλατταν καὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὅσον οἷόν τ'
5 ἦν ξυλίνῳ τείχει. ἐνταῦθ' Ἱπποκράτης μὲν ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος ἁρμοστὴς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐξήγαγε τοὺς στρατιώτας ὡς μαχούμενος· οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀντιπαρετάξαντο αὐτῷ, Φαρνάβαζος δὲ ἔξω τῶν περιτειχισμάτων προσεβοήθει στρατιᾷ τε καὶ
6 ἵπποις πολλοῖς. Ἱπποκράτης μὲν οὖν καὶ Θρασύλος ἐμάχοντο ἑκάτερος τοῖς ὁπλίταις χρόνον πολύν, μέχρι Ἀλκιβιάδης ἔχων ὁπλίτας τέ τινας καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας ἐβοήθησε. καὶ Ἱπποκράτης μὲν ἀπέθανεν, οἱ δὲ μετ' αὐτοῦ ὄντες ἔφυγον εἰς τὴν
7 πόλιν. ἅμα δὲ καὶ Φαρνάβαζος, οὐ δυνάμενος συμμίξαι πρὸς τὸν Ἱπποκράτην διὰ τὴν στενοπορίαν, τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀποτειχισμάτων ἐγγὺς ὄντων, ἀπεχώρησεν εἰς τὸ Ἡράκλειον τὸ τῶν
8 Καλχηδονίων, οὗ ἦν αὐτῷ τὸ στρατόπεδον. ἐκ τούτου δὲ Ἀλκιβιάδης μὲν ᾤχετο εἰς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον καὶ εἰς Χερρόνησον χρήματα πράξων· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ στρατηγοὶ συνεχώρησαν πρὸς Φαρνάβαζον ὑπὲρ Καλχηδόνος εἴκοσι τάλαντα δοῦναι Ἀθηναίοις Φαρνάβαζον καὶ ὡς βασιλέα πρέσβεις
9 Ἀθηναίων ἀναγαγεῖν, καὶ ὅρκους ἔδοσαν καὶ ἔλαβον παρὰ Φαρναβάζου ὑποτελεῖν τὸν φόρον Καλχηδονίους Ἀθηναίοις ὅσονπερ εἰώθεσαν καὶ τὰ ὀφειλόμενα χρήματα ἀποδοῦναι, Ἀθηναίους δὲ μὴ πολεμεῖν Καλχηδονίοις, ἕως ἂν οἱ παρὰ βασιλέως

πρέσβεις ἔλθωσιν. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ τοῖς ὅρκοις 10
οὐκ ἐτύγχανε παρών, ἀλλὰ περὶ Σηλυβρίαν ἦν·
ἐκείνην δ' ἑλὼν πρὸς τὸ Βυζάντιον ἧκεν ἔχων
Χερρονησίτας τε πανδημεὶ καὶ ἀπὸ Θρᾴκης στρα-
τιώτας καὶ ἱππεῖς πλείους τριακοσίων. Φαρνά- 11
βαζος δὲ ἀξιῶν δεῖν κἀκεῖνον ὀμνύναι περιέμενεν
ἐν Καλχηδόνι, μέχρι ἔλθοι ἐκ τοῦ Βυζαντίου· ἐπεὶ
δ' ἦλθεν, οὐκ ἔφη ὀμεῖσθαι, εἰ μὴ κἀκεῖνος αὐτῷ
ὀμεῖται. μετὰ ταῦτα ὤμοσεν ὁ μὲν ἐν Χρυσοπόλει 12
οἷς Φαρνάβαζος ἔπεμψε Μιτροβάτει καὶ Ἀρνάπει,
ὁ δ' ἐν Καλχηδόνι τοῖς παρ' Ἀλκιβιάδου Εὐρυπ-
τολέμῳ καὶ Διοτίμῳ τόν τε κοινὸν ὅρκον καὶ
ἰδίᾳ ἀλλήλοις πίστεις ἐποιήσαντο. Φαρνάβα- 13
ζος μὲν οὖν εὐθὺς ἀπῄει, καὶ τοὺς παρὰ βασιλέα
πορευομένους πρέσβεις ἀπαντᾶν ἐκέλευσεν εἰς
Κύζικον. ἐπέμφθησαν δὲ Ἀθηναίων μὲν Δωρόθεος,
Φιλοδίκης, Θεογένης, Εὐρυπτόλεμος, Μαντίθεος,
σὺν δὲ τούτοις Ἀργεῖοι Κλεόστρατος, Πυρρόλοχος·
ἐπορεύοντο δὲ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων πρέσβεις Πασιπ-
πίδας καὶ ἕτεροι, μετὰ δὲ τούτων καὶ Ἑρμοκράτης,
ἤδη φεύγων ἐκ Συρακουσῶν, καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ
Πρόξενος. καὶ Φαρνάβαζος μὲν τούτους ἦγεν· οἱ 14
δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι τὸ Βυζάντιον ἐπολιόρκουν περιτειχί-
σαντες, καὶ πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος ἀκροβολισμοὺς καὶ
προσβολὰς ἐποιοῦντο. ἐν δὲ τῷ Βυζαντίῳ ἦν 15
Κλέαρχος Λακεδαιμόνιος ἁρμοστὴς καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ
τῶν περιοίκων τινὲς καὶ τῶν νεοδαμώδων οὐ πολλοὶ
καὶ Μεγαρεῖς καὶ ἄρχων αὐτῶν Ἕλιξος Μεγαρεὺς
καὶ Βοιωτοὶ καὶ τούτων ἄρχων Κοιρατάδας. οἱ 16
δ' Ἀθηναῖοι ὡς οὐδὲν ἠδύναντο διαπράξασθαι κατ'

ἰσχύν, ἔπεισάν τινας τῶν Βυζαντίων προδοῦναι
17 τὴν πόλιν. Κλέαρχος δὲ ὁ ἁρμοστὴς οἰόμενος οὐδένα ἂν τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, καταστήσας δὲ ἅπαντα ὡς ἐδύνατο κάλλιστα καὶ ἐπιτρέψας τὰ ἐν τῇ πόλει Κοιρατάδᾳ καὶ Ἑλίξῳ, διέβη παρὰ τὸν Φαρνάβαζον εἰς τὸ πέραν, μισθόν τε τοῖς στρατιώταις παρ' αὐτοῦ ληψόμενος καὶ ναῦς συλλέξων, αἳ ἦσαν ἐν τῷ Ἑλλησπόντῳ ἄλλαι καταλελειμμέναι φρουρίδες ὑπὸ Πασιππίδου καὶ ἐν Ἀντάνδρῳ καὶ ἃς Ἀγησανδρίδας εἶχεν ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης, ἐπιβάτης ὢν Μινδάρου, καὶ ὅπως ἄλλαι ναυπηγηθείησαν, ἀθρόαι δὲ γενόμεναι πᾶσαι κακῶς τοὺς συμμάχους τῶν Ἀθηναίων ποιοῦσαι ἀποσπάσειαν τὸ στρατό-
18 πεδον ἀπὸ τοῦ Βυζαντίου. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐξέπλευσεν ὁ Κλέαρχος, οἱ προδιδόντες τὴν πόλιν τῶν Βυζαντίων Κύδων καὶ Ἀρίστων καὶ Ἀναξικράτης καὶ Λυ-
19 κοῦργος καὶ Ἀναξίλαος, ὃς ὑπαγόμενος θανάτου ὕστερον ἐν Λακεδαίμονι διὰ τὴν προδοσίαν ἀπέφυγεν, ὅτι οὐ προδοίη τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλὰ σῶσαι, παῖδας ὁρῶν καὶ γυναῖκας λιμῷ ἀπολλυμένους, Βυζάντιος ὢν καὶ οὐ Λακεδαιμόνιος· τὸν γὰρ ἐνόντα σῖτον Κλέαρχον τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίων στρατιώταις διδόναι· διὰ ταῦτ' οὖν τοὺς πολεμίους ἔφη εἰσέσθαι, οὐκ ἀργυρίου ἕνεκα οὐδὲ διὰ τὸ μισεῖν Λακεδαιμο-
20 νίους· ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς παρεσκεύαστο, νυκτὸς ἀνοίξαντες τὰς πύλας τὰς ἐπὶ τὸ Θρᾴκιον καλούμενον
21 εἰσήγαγον τὸ στράτευμα καὶ τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην. ὁ δὲ Ἕλιξος καὶ ὁ Κοιρατάδας οὐδὲν τούτων εἰδότες ἐβοήθουν μετὰ πάντων εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν· ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντῃ οἱ πολέμιοι κατεῖχον, οὐδὲν ἔχοντες ὅ,τι

ποιήσαιεν, παρέδοσαν σφᾶς αὐτους. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν 22
ἀπεπέμφθησαν εἰς Ἀθήνας, καὶ ὁ Κοιρατάδας ἐν
τῷ ὄχλῳ ἀποβαινόντων ἐν Πειραιεῖ ἔλαθεν ἀπο-
δρὰς καὶ ἀπεσώθη εἰς Δεκέλειαν.

A.C. 407. Φαρνάβαζος δὲ καὶ οἱ πρέσβεις τῆς 4
Φρυγίας ἐν Γορδιείῳ ὄντες τὸν χειμῶνα τὰ
περὶ τὸ Βυζάντιον πεπραγμένα ἤκουσαν. ἀρχομέ- 2
νου δὲ τοῦ ἔαρος πορευομένοις αὐτοῖς παρὰ βασιλέα
ἀπήντησαν καταβαίνοντες οἵ τε Λακεδαιμονίων
πρέσβεις, Βοιώτιος ὄνομα καὶ οἱ μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ
ἄλλοι ἄγγελοι, καὶ ἔλεγον ὅτι Λακεδαιμόνιοι πάν-
των ὧν δέονται πεπραγότες εἶεν παρὰ βασιλέως, καὶ
Κῦρος, ἄρξων πάντων τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ καὶ συμ- 3
πολεμήσων Λακεδαιμονίοις, ἐπιστολήν τε ἔφερε τοῖς
κάτω πᾶσι τὸ βασίλειον σφράγισμα ἔχουσαν, ἐν ᾗ
ἐνῆν καὶ τάδε· Καταπέμπω Κῦρον κάρανον τῶν εἰς
Καστωλὸν ἀθροιζομένων. τὸ δὲ κάρανον ἔστι κύριον.
ταῦτ᾽ οὖν ἀκούοντες οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων πρέσβεις, 4
καὶ ἐπειδὴ Κῦρον εἶδον, ἐβούλοντο μὲν μάλιστα
παρὰ βασιλέα ἀναβῆναι, εἰ δὲ μή, οἴκαδε ἀπελθεῖν.
Κῦρος δὲ Φαρναβάζῳ εἶπεν ἢ παραδοῦναι τοὺς 5
πρέσβεις ἑαυτῷ ἢ μὴ οἴκαδέ πω ἀποπέμψαι, βου-
λόμενος τοὺς Ἀθηναίους μὴ εἰδέναι τὰ πραττ-
τόμενα. Φαρνάβαζος δὲ τέως μὲν κατεῖχε τοὺς 6
πρέσβεις, φάσκων τοτὲ μὲν ἀνάξειν αὐτοὺς παρὰ
βασιλέα, τοτὲ δὲ οἴκαδε ἀποπέμψειν, ὡς μηδὲν
μέμψηται. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐνιαυτοὶ τρεῖς ἦσαν, ἐδεήθη 7
τοῦ Κύρου ἀφεῖναι αὐτούς, φάσκων ὀμωμοκέναι
ἀπάξειν ἐπὶ θάλατταν, ἐπειδὴ οὐ παρὰ βασιλέα.
πέμψαντες δὲ Ἀριοβαρζάνει παρακομίσαι αὐτοὺς

ἐκέλευον· ὁ δὲ ἀπήγαγεν εἰς Κίον τῆς Μυσίας, ὅθεν πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο στρατόπεδον ἀπέπλευσαν.

8 Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ βουλόμενος μετὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀποπλεῖν οἴκαδε ἀνήχθη εὐθὺς ἐπὶ Σάμου· ἐκεῖθεν δὲ λαβὼν τῶν νεῶν εἴκοσιν ἔπλευσε τῆς Καρίας
9 εἰς τὸν Κεραμικὸν κόλπον. ἐκεῖθεν δὲ συλλέξας ἑκατὸν τάλαντα ἧκεν εἰς τὴν Σάμον. Θρασύβουλος δὲ σὺν τριάκοντα ναυσὶν ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης ᾤχετο, ἐκεῖ δὲ τά τε ἄλλα χωρία τὰ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους μεθεστηκότα κατεστρέψατο καὶ Θάσον ἔχουσαν κακῶς ὑπό τε τῶν πολέμων καὶ στάσεων καὶ λιμοῦ.
10 Θρασύλος δὲ σὺν τῇ ἄλλῃ στρατιᾷ εἰς Ἀθήνας κατέπλευσε· πρὶν δὲ ἥκειν αὐτόν, οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι στρατηγοὺς εἵλοντο Ἀλκιβιάδην μὲν φεύγοντα καὶ Θρασύβουλον ἀπόντα, Κόνωνα δὲ τρίτον ἐκ τῶν
11 οἴκοθεν. Ἀλκιβιάδης δ' ἐκ τῆς Σάμου ἔχων τὰ χρήματα κατέπλευσεν εἰς Πάρον ναυσὶν εἴκοσιν, ἐκεῖθεν δ' ἀνήχθη εὐθὺ Γυθείου ἐπὶ κατασκοπὴν τῶν τριήρων, ἃς ἐπυνθάνετο Λακεδαιμονίους αὐτόθι παρασκευάζειν τριάκοντα, καὶ τοῦ οἴκαδε κατάπλου
12 ὅπως ἡ πόλις πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔχει. ἐπεὶ δ' ἑώρα ἑαυτῷ εὔνουν οὖσαν καὶ στρατηγὸν αὐτὸν ᾑρημένους καὶ ἰδίᾳ μεταπεμπομένους τοὺς ἐπιτηδείους, κατέπλευσεν εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ ἡμέρᾳ, ᾗ Πλυντήρια ἦγεν ἡ πόλις, τοῦ ἕδους κατακεκαλυμμένου τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, ὅ τινες οἰωνίζοντο ἀνεπιτήδειον εἶναι καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ τῇ πόλει· Ἀθηναίων γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ οὐδενὸς σπουδαίου ἔργου τολμῆσαι ἂν ἅψα-
13 σθαι. καταπλέοντος δ' αὐτοῦ ὅ τε ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς καὶ ὁ ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος ὄχλος ἠθροίσθη πρὸς τὰς ναῦς,

θαυμάζοντες καὶ ἰδεῖν βουλόμενοι τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην, λέγοντες οἱ μέν, ὡς κράτιστος εἴη τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ μόνος ἀπελογήθη ὡς οὐ δικαίως φύγοι, ἐπιβουλευθεὶς δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἔλαττον ἐκείνου δυναμένων μοχθηρότερά τε λεγόντων καὶ πρὸς τὸ αὑτῶν ἴδιον κέρδος πολιτευόντων, ἐκείνου ἀεὶ τὸ κοινὸν αὔξοντος καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν αὑτοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ τῆς πόλεως δυνατοῦ, ἐθέλοντος δὲ τότε κρίνεσθαι παραχρῆμα τῆς 14
αἰτίας ἄρτι γεγενημένης ὡς ἠσεβηκότος εἰς τὰ μυστήρια, ὑπερβαλλόμενοι οἱ ἐχθροὶ τὰ δοκοῦντα δίκαια εἶναι ἀπόντα αὐτὸν ἐστέρησαν τῆς πατρίδος· ἐν ᾧ χρόνῳ ὑπὸ ἀμηχανίας δουλεύων ἠναγ- 15
κάσθη μὲν θεραπεύειν τοὺς ἐχθίστους, κινδυνεύων ἀεὶ καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἀπολέσθαι· τοὺς δὲ οἰκειοτάτους πολίτας τε καὶ συγγενεῖς καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἅπασαν ὁρῶν ἐξαμαρτάνουσαν, οὐκ εἶχεν ὅπως ὠφελοίη φυγῇ ἀπειργόμενος· οὐκ ἔφασαν δὲ 16
τῶν οἵωνπερ αὐτὸς ὄντων εἶναι καινῶν δεῖσθαι πραγμάτων οὐδὲ μεταστάσεως· ὑπάρχειν γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ δήμου αὐτῷ μὲν τῶν τε ἡλικιωτῶν πλέον ἔχειν τῶν τε πρεσβυτέρων μὴ ἐλαττοῦσθαι, τοῖς δ' αὐτοῦ ἐχθροῖς τοιούτοις δοκεῖν εἶναι οἵοισπερ πρότερον, ὕστερον δὲ δυνασθεῖσιν ἀπολλύναι τοὺς βελτίστους, αὐτοὺς δὲ μόνους λειφθέντας δι' αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἀγαπᾶσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν, ὅτι ἑτέροις βελτίοσιν οὐκ εἶχον χρῆσθαι· οἱ δέ, ὅτι τῶν παροιχομένων 17
αὐτοῖς κακῶν μόνος αἴτιος εἴη, τῶν τε φοβερῶν ὄντων τῇ πόλει γενέσθαι μόνος κινδυνεῦσαι ἡγεμὼν καταστῆναι. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ πρὸς τὴν γῆν ὁρμισ- 18
θεὶς ἀπέβαινε μὲν οὐκ εὐθέως, φοβούμενος τοὺς

ἐχθρούς· ἐπαναστὰς δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ καταστρώματος
19 ἐσκόπει τοὺς αὑτοῦ ἐπιτηδείους, εἰ παρείησαν. κατι-
δὼν δὲ Εὐρυπτόλεμον τὸν Πεισιάνακτος, αὑτοῦ
δὲ ἀνεψιόν, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους οἰκείους καὶ τοὺς
φίλους μετ᾽ αὐτῶν, τότε ἀποβὰς ἀναβαίνει εἰς τὴν
πόλιν μετὰ τῶν παρεσκευασμένων, εἴ τις ἅπτοιτο,
20 μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν. ἐν δὲ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ
ἀπολογησάμενος ὡς οὐκ ἠσεβήκει, εἰπὼν δὲ ὡς
ἠδίκηται, λεχθέντων δὲ καὶ ἄλλων τοιούτων καὶ
οὐδενὸς ἀντειπόντος διὰ τὸ μὴ ἀνασχέσθαι ἂν τὴν
ἐκκλησίαν, ἀναρρηθεὶς ἁπάντων ἡγεμὼν αὐτοκράτωρ,
ὡς οἷός τε ὢν σῶσαι τὴν προτέραν τῆς πόλεως
δύναμιν, πρότερον μὲν τὰ μυστήρια τῶν Ἀθηναίων
κατὰ θάλατταν ἀγόντων διὰ τὸν πόλεμον, κατὰ γῆν
21 ἐποίησεν ἐξαγαγὼν τοὺς στρατιώτας ἅπαντας· μετὰ
δὲ ταῦτα κατελέξατο στρατιάν, ὁπλίτας μὲν πεν-
τακοσίους καὶ χιλίους, ἱππεῖς δὲ πεντήκοντα καὶ
ἑκατόν, ναῦς δ᾽ ἑκατόν. καὶ μετὰ τὸν κατάπλουν τρίτῳ
μηνὶ ἀνήχθη ἐπ᾽ Ἄνδρον ἀφεστηκυῖαν τῶν Ἀθη-
ναίων, καὶ μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ Ἀριστοκράτης καὶ Ἀδείμαν-
τος ὁ Λευκολοφίδου συνεπέμφθησαν ᾑρημένοι κατὰ
22 γῆν στρατηγοί. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ ἀπεβίβασε τὸ
στράτευμα τῆς Ἀνδρίας χώρας εἰς Γαύρειον· ἐκβοη-
θήσαντας δὲ τοὺς Ἀνδρίους ἐτρέψαντο καὶ κατέκλει-
σαν εἰς τὴν πόλιν καί τινας ἀπέκτειναν οὐ πολλούς,
23 καὶ τοὺς Λάκωνας, οἳ αὐτόθι ἦσαν. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ
τρόπαιόν τε ἔστησε καὶ μείνας αὐτοῦ ὀλίγας ἡμέρας
ἔπλευσεν εἰς Σάμον, κἀκεῖθεν ὁρμώμενος ἐπολέμει.

5 Οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πρότερον τούτων οὐ πολλῷ
χρόνῳ Κρατησιππίδᾳ τῆς ναυαρχίας παρεληλυθυίας

Λύσανδρον ἐξέπεμψαν ναύαρχον. ὁ δὲ ἀφικόμενος εἰς Ῥόδον καὶ ναῦς ἐκεῖθεν λαβὼν εἰς Κῶ καὶ Μίλητον ἔπλευσεν, ἐκεῖθεν δ' εἰς Ἔφεσον, καὶ ἐκεῖ ἔμεινε ναῦς ἔχων ἑβδομήκοντα, μέχρι οὗ Κῦρος εἰς Σάρδεις ἀφίκετο. ἐπεὶ δ' ἧκεν, ἀνέβη πρὸς αὐτὸν σὺν 2
τοῖς ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος πρέσβεσιν. ἐνταῦθα δὴ κατά τε τοῦ Τισσαφέρνους ἔλεγον ἃ πεποιηκὼς εἴη, αὐτοῦ τε Κύρου ἐδέοντο ὡς προθυμοτάτου πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον γενέσθαι. Κῦρος δὲ τόν τε πατέρα ἔφη ταῦτα 3
ἐπεσταλκέναι καὶ αὐτὸς οὐκ ἄλλ' ἐγνωκέναι, ἀλλὰ πάντα ποιήσειν· ἔχων δὲ ἥκειν τάλαντα πεντακόσια· ἐὰν δὲ ταῦτα ἐκλίπῃ, τοῖς ἰδίοις χρήσεσθαι ἔφη, ἃ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτῷ ἔδωκεν· ἐὰν δὲ καὶ ταῦτα, καὶ τὸν θρόνον κατακόψειν, ἐφ' οὗ ἐκάθητο, ὄντα ἀργυροῦν καὶ χρυσοῦν. οἱ δὲ ταῦτ' ἐπῄνουν καὶ ἐκέλευον 4
αὐτὸν τάξαι τῷ ναύτῃ δραχμὴν Ἀττικήν, διδάσκοντες ὅτι ἂν οὗτος ὁ μισθὸς γένηται, οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ναῦται ἀπολείψουσι τὰς ναῦς καὶ μείω χρήματα ἀναλώσει. ὁ δὲ καλῶς μὲν ἔφη αὐτοὺς λέγειν, 5
οὐ δυνατὸν δ' εἶναι παρ' ἃ βασιλεὺς ἐπέστειλεν αὐτῷ ἄλλα ποιεῖν. εἶναι δὲ καὶ τὰς συνθήκας οὕτως ἐχούσας, τριάκοντα μνᾶς ἑκάστῃ νηὶ τοῦ μηνὸς διδόναι, ὁπόσας ἂν βούλωνται τρέφειν Λακεδαιμόνιοι. ὁ δὲ Λύσανδρος τότε μὲν ἐσιώπησε· 6
μετὰ δὲ τὸ δεῖπνον, ἐπεὶ αὐτῷ προπιὼν ὁ Κῦρος ἤρετο, τί ἂν μάλιστα χαρίζοιτο ποιῶν, εἶπεν ὅτι Εἰ πρὸς τὸν μισθὸν ἑκάστῳ ναύτῃ ὀβολὸν προσθείης. ἐκ δὲ τουτου τέτταρες ὀβολοὶ ἦν ὁ μισθός, 7
πρότερον δὲ τριώβολον. καὶ τόν τε προσοφειλόμενον ἀπέδωκε καὶ ἔτι μηνὸς προέδωκεν, ὥστε τὸ

8 στράτευμα πολὺ προθυμότερον εἶναι. οἱ δὲ Ἀθη-
ναῖοι ἀκούοντες ταῦτα ἀθύμως μὲν εἶχον, ἔπεμπον
9 δὲ πρὸς τὸν Κῦρον πρέσβεις διὰ Τισσαφέρνους. ὁ
δὲ οὐ προσεδέχετο, δεομένου Τισσαφέρνους καὶ λέ-
γοντος, ὅπερ αὐτὸς ἐποίει πεισθεὶς ὑπ' Ἀλκιβιάδου,
σκοπεῖν ὅπως τῶν Ἑλλήνων μηδὲ οἵτινες ἰσχυροὶ
ὦσιν, ἀλλὰ πάντες ἀσθενεῖς, αὐτοὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς στα-
10 σιάζοντες. καὶ ὁ μὲν Λύσανδρος, ἐπεὶ αὐτῷ τὸ
ναυτικὸν συνετέτακτο, ἀνελκύσας τὰς ἐν τῇ Ἐφέσῳ
οὔσας ναῦς ἐνενήκοντα ἡσυχίαν ἦγεν, ἐπισκευάζων
11 καὶ ἀναψύχων αὐτάς. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ ἀκούσας Θρα-
σύβουλον ἔξω Ἑλλησπόντου ἥκοντα τειχίζειν Φώ-
καιαν διέπλευσε πρὸς αὐτόν, καταλιπὼν ἐπὶ ταῖς
ναυσὶν Ἀντίοχον τὸν αὑτοῦ κυβερνήτην, ἐπιστείλας
12 μὴ ἐπιπλεῖν ἐπὶ τὰς Λυσάνδρου ναῦς. ὁ δὲ Ἀντί-
οχος τῇ τε αὑτοῦ νηὶ καὶ ἄλλῃ ἐκ Νοτίου εἰς τὸν
λιμένα τῶν Ἐφεσίων εἰσπλεύσας παρ' αὐτὰς τὰς
13 πρῴρας τῶν Λυσάνδρου νεῶν παρέπλει. ὁ δὲ Λύ-
σανδρος τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὀλίγας τῶν νεῶν καθελκύσας
ἐδίωκεν αὐτόν, ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τῷ Ἀντιόχῳ
ἐβοήθουν πλείοσι ναυσί, τότε δὴ καὶ πάσας συντά-
ξας ἐπέπλει. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐκ
τοῦ Νοτίου καθελκύσαντες τὰς λοιπὰς τριήρεις
14 ἀνήχθησαν, ὡς ἕκαστος ἤνοιξεν. ἐκ τούτου δ' ἐναυ-
μάχησαν οἱ μὲν ἐν τάξει, οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι διεσπαρ-
μέναις ταῖς ναυσί, μέχρι οὗ ἔφυγον ἀπολέσαντες
πεντεκαίδεκα τριήρεις. τῶν δὲ ἀνδρῶν οἱ μὲν πλεῖσ-
τοι ἐξέφυγον, οἱ δ' ἐζωγρήθησαν. Λύσανδρος δὲ
τάς τε ναῦς ἀναλαβὼν καὶ τρόπαιον στήσας ἐπὶ
τοῦ Νοτίου διέπλευσεν εἰς Ἔφεσον, οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι

εἰς Σάμον. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Ἀλκιβιάδης ἐλθὼν εἰς 15
Σάμον ἀνήχθη ταῖς ναυσὶν ἁπάσαις ἐπὶ τὸν λιμένα
τῶν Ἐφεσίων, καὶ πρὸ τοῦ στόματος παρέταξεν, εἴ
τις βούλοιτο ναυμαχεῖν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ Λύσανδρος οὐκ
ἀντανήγαγε διὰ τὸ πολλαῖς ναυσὶν ἐλαττοῦσθαι,
ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς Σάμον. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ὀλίγῳ
ὕστερον αἱροῦσι Δελφίνιον καὶ Ἠιόνα. οἱ δὲ ἐν 16
οἴκῳ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐπειδὴ ἠγγέλθη ἡ ναυμαχία, χαλε-
πῶς εἶχον τῷ Ἀλκιβιάδῃ, οἰόμενοι δι' ἀμέλειάν τε
καὶ ἀκράτειαν ἀπολωλεκέναι τὰς ναῦς, καὶ στρα-
τηγοὺς εἵλοντο ἄλλους δέκα, Κόνωνα, Διομέδοντα,
Λέοντα, Περικλέα, Ἐρασινίδην, Ἀριστοκράτην,
Ἀρχέστρατον, Πρωτόμαχον, Θρασύλον, Ἀριστο-
γένην. Ἀλκιβιάδης μὲν οὖν πονήρως καὶ ἐν τῇ 17
στρατιᾷ φερόμενος, λαβὼν τριήρη μίαν ἀπέπλευσεν
εἰς Χερρόνησον εἰς τὰ ἑαυτοῦ τείχη. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα 18
Κόνων ἐκ τῆς Ἄνδρου σὺν αἷς εἶχε ναυσὶν εἴκοσι
ψηφισαμένων Ἀθηναίων εἰς Σάμον ἔπλευσεν ἐπὶ
τὸ ναυτικόν. ἀντὶ δὲ Κόνωνος εἰς Ἄνδρον ἔπεμψαν
Φανοσθένην τέτταρας ναῦς ἔχοντα. οὗτος περιτυ- 19
χὼν δυοῖν τριήροιν Θουρίαιν ἔλαβεν αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσι·
καὶ τοὺς μὲν αἰχμαλώτους ἅπαντας ἔδησαν Ἀθη-
ναῖοι, τὸν δὲ ἄρχοντα αὐτῶν Δωριέα, ὄντα μὲν
Ῥόδιον, πάλαι δὲ φυγάδα ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν καὶ Ῥόδου
ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων κατεψηφισμένων αὐτοῦ θάνατον
καὶ τῶν ἐκείνου συγγενῶν, πολιτεύοντα παρ' αὐτοῖς,
ἐλεήσαντες ἀφεῖσαν οὐδὲ χρήματα πραξάμενοι. Κό- 20
νων δ' ἐπεὶ εἰς τὴν Σάμον ἀφίκετο καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν
κατέλαβεν ἀθύμως ἔχον, συμπληρώσας τριήρεις
ἑβδομήκοντα ἀντὶ τῶν προτέρων, οὐσῶν πλέον ἢ

ἑκατόν, καὶ ταύταις ἀναγόμενος μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων
στρατηγῶν ἄλλοτε ἄλλῃ ἀποβαίνων τῆς τῶν πολε-
21 μίων χώρας ἐλῄζετο. καὶ ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς ἔληγεν, ἐν ᾧ
Καρχηδόνιοι εἰς Σικελίαν στρατεύσαντες εἴκοσι καὶ
ἑκατὸν τριήρεσι καὶ πεζῆς στρατιᾶς δώδεκα μυριά-
σιν εἷλον Ἀκράγαντα λιμῷ, μάχῃ μὲν ἡττηθέντες,
προσκαθεζόμενοι δὲ ἑπτὰ μῆνας.

6 A. C. 406. Τῷ δ' ἐπιόντι ἔτει, ᾧ ἥ τε σελήνη ἐξέ-
λιπεν ἑσπέρας καὶ ὁ παλαιὸς τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς
νεὼς ἐν Ἀθήναις ἐνεπρήσθη, Πιτύα μὲν ἐφορεύοντος,
ἄρχοντος δὲ Καλλίου Ἀθήνησιν, οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι
τῷ Λυσάνδρῳ παρεληλυθότος ἤδη τοῦ χρόνου καὶ
τῷ πολέμῳ τεττάρων καὶ εἴκοσιν ἐτῶν ἔπεμψαν ἐπὶ
2 τὰς ναῦς Καλλικρατίδαν. ὅτε δὲ παρεδίδου ὁ Λύ-
σανδρος τὰς ναῦς, ἔλεγε τῷ Καλλικρατίδᾳ ὅτι
θαλαττοκράτωρ τε παραδιδοίη καὶ ναυμαχίᾳ νενι-
κηκώς. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσεν ἐξ Ἐφέσου ἐν ἀρισ-
τερᾷ Σάμου παραπλεύσαντα, οὗ ἦσαν αἱ τῶν
Ἀθηναίων νῆες, ἐν Μιλήτῳ παραδοῦναι τὰς ναῦς,
3 καὶ ὁμολογήσειν θαλαττοκρατεῖν. οὐ φαμένου δὲ
τοῦ Λυσάνδρου πολυπραγμονεῖν ἄλλου ἄρχοντος,
αὐτὸς ὁ Καλλικρατίδας πρὸς αἷς παρὰ Λυσάνδρου
ἔλαβε ναυσὶ προσεπλήρωσεν ἐκ Χίου καὶ Ῥόδου
καὶ ἄλλοθεν ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων πεντήκοντα ναῦς.
ταύτας δὲ πάσας ἀθροίσας, οὔσας τετταράκοντα
καὶ ἑκατόν, παρεσκευάζετο ὡς ἀπαντησόμενος τοῖς
4 πολεμίοις. καταμαθὼν δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν Λυσάνδρου
φίλων καταστασιαζόμενος, οὐ μόνον ἀπροθύμως
ὑπηρετούντων, ἀλλὰ καὶ διαθροούντων ἐν ταῖς πό-
λεσιν ὅτι Λακεδαιμόνιοι μέγιστα παραπίπτοιεν ἐν

τῷ διαλλάττειν τοὺς ναυάρχους, πολλάκις ἀνεπιτη-
δείων γιγνομένων καὶ ἄρτι συνιέντων τὰ ναυτικὰ
καὶ ἀνθρώποις ὡς χρηστέον οὐ γιγνωσκόντων, ἀπεί-
ρους δὲ θαλάττης πέμποντες καὶ ἀγνῶτας τοῖς ἐκεῖ,
κινδυνεύοιέν τι παθεῖν διὰ τοῦτο, ἐκ τούτου δὲ ὁ
Καλλικρατίδας συγκαλέσας τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίων
ἐκεῖ παρόντας ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς τοιάδε·

Ἐμοὶ μὲν ἀρκεῖ οἴκοι μένειν, καὶ εἴτε Λύσανδρος 5
εἴτε ἄλλος τις ἐμπειρότερος περὶ τὰ ναυτικὰ βού-
λεται εἶναι, οὐ κωλύω τὸ κατ' ἐμέ· ἐγὼ δ' ὑπὸ τῆς
πόλεως ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς πεμφθεὶς οὐκ ἔχω τί ἄλλο
ποιῶ ἢ τὰ κελευόμενα ὡς ἂν δύνωμαι κράτιστα.
ὑμεῖς δὲ πρὸς ἃ ἐγώ τε φιλοτιμοῦμαι καὶ ἡ πόλις
ἡμῶν αἰτιάζεται, ἴστε γὰρ αὐτὰ ὥσπερ καὶ ἐγώ,
συμβουλεύετε τὰ ἄριστα ὑμῖν δοκοῦντα εἶναι περὶ
τοῦ ἐμὲ ἐνθάδε μένειν ἢ οἴκαδε ἀποπλεῖν ἐροῦντα τὰ
καθεστῶτα ἐνθάδε.

Οὐδενὸς δὲ τολμήσαντος ἄλλο τι εἰπεῖν ἢ τοῖς 6
οἴκοι πείθεσθαι ποιεῖν τε ἐφ' ἃ ἥκει, ἐλθὼν παρὰ
Κῦρον ᾔτει μισθὸν τοῖς ναύταις· ὁ δὲ αὐτῷ εἶπε δύο
ἡμέρας ἐπισχεῖν. Καλλικρατίδας δὲ ἀχθεσθεὶς τῇ 7
ἀναβολῇ καὶ ταῖς ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας φοιτήσεσιν, ὀργι-
σθεὶς καὶ εἰπὼν ἀθλιωτάτους εἶναι τοὺς Ἕλληνας,
ὅτι βαρβάρους κολακεύουσιν ἕνεκα ἀργυρίου, φάσ-
κων τε, ἢν σωθῇ οἴκαδε, κατά γε τὸ αὑτοῦ δυνατὸν
διαλλάξειν Ἀθηναίους καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους, ἀπέ-
πλευσεν εἰς Μίλητον· κἀκεῖθεν πέμψας τριήρεις εἰς 8
Λακεδαίμονα ἐπὶ χρήματα, ἐκκλησίαν ἀθροίσας τῶν
Μιλησίων τάδε εἶπεν·

Ἐμοὶ μέν, ὦ Μιλήσιοι, ἀνάγκη τοῖς οἴκοι ἄρ-

χουσι πείθεσθαι· ὑμᾶς δὲ ἐγὼ ἀξιῶ προθυμοτάτους
εἶναι εἰς πόλεμον διὰ τὸ οἰκοῦντας ἐν βαρβάροις
9 πλεῖστα κακὰ ἤδη ὑπ' αὐτῶν πεπονθέναι. δεῖ δ'
ὑμᾶς ἐξηγεῖσθαι τοῖς ἄλλοις συμμάχοις ὅπως ἂν
τάχιστά τε καὶ μάλιστα βλάπτωμεν τοὺς πολε-
μίους, ἕως ἂν οἱ ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος ἥκωσιν, οὓς ἐγὼ
10 ἔπεμψα χρήματα ἄξοντας, ἐπεὶ τὰ ἐνθάδε ὑπάρ-
χοντα Λύσανδρος Κύρῳ ἀποδοὺς ὡς περιττὰ ὄντα
οἴχεται· Κῦρος δὲ ἐλθόντος ἐμοῦ ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀεὶ
ἀνεβάλλετό μοι διαλεχθῆναι, ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς ἐκείνου
11 θύρας φοιτᾶν οὐκ ἠδυνάμην ἐμαυτὸν πεῖσαι. ὑπισ-
χνοῦμαι δ' ὑμῖν ἀντὶ τῶν συμβάντων ἡμῖν ἀγαθῶν
ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ ᾧ ἂν ἐκεῖνα προσδεχώμεθα χάριν
ἀξίαν ἀποδώσειν. ἀλλὰ σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς δείξωμεν
τοῖς βαρβάροις ὅτι καὶ ἄνευ τοῦ ἐκείνους θαυμάζειν
δυνάμεθα τοὺς ἐχθροὺς τιμωρεῖσθαι.

12 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτ' εἶπεν, ἀνιστάμενοι πολλοί,
καὶ μάλιστα οἱ αἰτιαζόμενοι ἐναντιοῦσθαι, δεδιότες
εἰσηγοῦντο πόρον χρημάτων καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπαγγελ-
λόμενοι ἰδίᾳ. λαβὼν δὲ ταῦτα ἐκεῖνος καὶ ἐκ
Χίου πεντεδραχμίαν ἑκάστῳ τῶν ναυτῶν ἐφο-
διασάμενος ἔπλευσε τῆς Λέσβου ἐπὶ Μήθυμναν
13 πολεμίαν οὖσαν. οὐ βουλομένων δὲ τῶν Μηθυμ-
ναίων προσχωρεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐμφρούρων ὄντων Ἀθη-
ναίων καὶ τῶν τὰ πράγματα ἐχόντων ἀττικιζόντων,
14 προσβαλὼν αἱρεῖ τὴν πόλιν κατὰ κράτος. τὰ μὲν
οὖν χρήματα πάντα διήρπαζον οἱ στρατιῶται, τὰ
δὲ ἀνδράποδα πάντα συνήθροισεν ὁ Καλλικρατίδας
εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν, καὶ κελευόντων τῶν συμμάχων
ἀποδόσθαι καὶ τοὺς Μηθυμναίους οὐκ ἔφη ἑαυτοῦ

γε ἄρχοντος οὐδένα Ἑλλήνων εἰς τὸ ἐκείνου δυνα-
τὸν ἀνδραποδισθῆναι. τῇ δ᾽ ὑστεραίᾳ τοὺς μὲν 15
ἐλευθέρους ἀφῆκε, τοὺς δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων φρουροὺς
καὶ τὰ ἀνδράποδα τὰ δοῦλα πάντα ἀπέδοτο· Κόνωνι
δὲ εἶπεν ὅτι παύσει αὐτὸν μοιχῶντα τὴν θάλατταν.
κατιδὼν δὲ αὐτὸν ἀναγόμενον ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ἐδίωκεν
ὑποτεμνόμενος τὸν εἰς Σάμον πλοῦν, ὅπως μὴ
ἐκεῖσε φύγοι. Κόνων δ᾽ ἔφευγε ταῖς ναυσὶν εὖ 16
πλεούσαις διὰ τὸ ἐκ πολλῶν πληρωμάτων εἰς
ὀλίγας ἐκλελέχθαι τοὺς ἀρίστους ἐρέτας, καὶ κατα-
φεύγει εἰς Μυτιλήνην τῆς Λέσβου καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ
τῶν δέκα στρατηγῶν Λέων καὶ Ἐρασινίδης. Καλ-
λικρατίδας δὲ συνεισέπλευσεν εἰς τὸν λιμένα, διώ-
κων ναυσὶν ἑκατὸν καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα. Κόνων δὲ 17
ὡς ἔφθη ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων κατακωλυθείς, ἠναγ-
κάσθη ναυμαχῆσαι πρὸς τῷ λιμένι, καὶ ἀπώλεσε
ναῦς τριάκοντα· οἱ δ᾽ ἄνδρες εἰς τὴν γῆν ἀπέφυγον·
τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς τῶν νεῶν, τετταράκοντα οὔσας, ὑπὸ
τῷ τείχει ἀνείλκυσε. Καλλικρατίδας δὲ ἐν τῷ 18
λιμένι ὁρμισάμενος ἐπολιόρκει ἐνταῦθα, τὸν ἔκ-
πλουν ἔχων. καὶ κατὰ γῆν μεταπεμψάμενος
τοὺς Μηθυμναίους πανδημεὶ καὶ ἐκ τῆς Χίου τὸ
στράτευμα διεβίβασε· χρήματά τε παρὰ Κύρου
αὐτῷ ἦλθεν. ὁ δὲ Κόνων ἐπεὶ ἐπολιορκεῖτο καὶ 19
κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν, καὶ σίτων οὐδα-
μόθεν ἦν εὐπορῆσαι, οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι πολλοὶ
ἐν τῇ πόλει ἦσαν καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι οὐκ ἐβοήθουν
διὰ τὸ μὴ πυνθάνεσθαι ταῦτα, καθελκύσας τῶν
νεῶν τὰς ἄριστα πλεούσας δύο ἐπλήρωσε πρὸ
ἡμέρας, ἐξ ἁπασῶν τῶν νεῶν τοὺς ἀρίστους ἐρέτας

ἐκλέξας καὶ τοὺς ἐπιβάτας εἰς κοίλην ναῦν μετα-
20 βιβάσας καὶ τὰ παραρρύματα παραβαλών. τὴν
μὲν οὖν ἡμέραν οὕτως ἀνεῖχον, εἰς δὲ τὴν ἑσπέραν,
ἐπεὶ σκότος εἴη, ἐξεβίβαζεν, ὡς μὴ καταδήλους
εἶναι τοῖς πολεμίοις ταῦτα ποιοῦντας. πέμπτῃ
δὲ ἡμέρᾳ εἰσθέμενοι σῖτα μέτρια, ἐπειδὴ ἤδη μέσον
ἡμέρας ἦν καὶ οἱ ἐφορμοῦντες ὀλιγώρως εἶχον καὶ
ἔνιοι ἀνεπαύοντο, ἐξέπλευσαν ἔξω τοῦ λιμένος,
καὶ ἡ μὲν ἐπὶ Ἑλλησπόντου ὥρμησεν, ἡ δὲ εἰς
21 τὸ πέλαγος. τῶν δ' ἐφορμούντων ὡς ἕκαστοι ἤνοι-
γον, τάς τε ἀγκύρας ἀποκόπτοντες καὶ ἐγειρόμενοι
ἐβοήθουν τεταραγμένοι, τυχόντες ἐν τῇ γῇ ἀρισ-
τοποιούμενοι· εἰσβάντες δὲ ἐδίωκον τὴν εἰς τὸ
πέλαγος ἀφορμήσασαν, καὶ ἅμα τῷ ἡλίῳ δύνοντι
κατέλαβον, καὶ κρατήσαντες μάχῃ ἀναδησάμενοι
22 ἀπῆγον εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν. ἡ δ'
ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου φυγοῦσα ναῦς διέφυγε, καὶ
ἀφικομένη εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἐξαγγέλλει τὴν πολιορ-
κίαν. Διομέδων δὲ βοηθῶν Κόνωνι πολιορκουμένῳ
δώδεκα ναυσὶν ὡρμίσατο εἰς τὸν εὔριπον τὸν τῶν
23 Μυτιληναίων. ὁ δὲ Καλλικρατίδας ἐπιπλεύσας
αὐτῷ ἐξαίφνης δέκα μὲν τῶν νεῶν ἔλαβε, Διομέδων
24 δ' ἔφυγε τῇ τε αὑτοῦ καὶ ἄλλῃ. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι
τὰ γεγενημένα καὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν ἐπεὶ ἤκουσαν,
ἐψηφίσαντο βοηθεῖν ναυσὶν ἑκατὸν καὶ δέκα, εἰσ-
βιβάζοντες τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἡλικίᾳ ὄντας ἅπαντας καὶ
δούλους καὶ ἐλευθέρους· καὶ πληρώσαντες τὰς δέκα
καὶ ἑκατὸν ἐν τριάκοντα ἡμέραις ἀπῆραν. εἰσέ-
25 βησαν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἱππέων πολλοί. μετὰ ταῦτα
ἀνήχθησαν εἰς Σάμον, κἀκεῖθεν Σαμίας ναῦς ἔλαβον

δέκα· ἤθροισαν δὲ καὶ ἄλλας πλείους ἢ τριάκοντα
παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων, εἰσβαίνειν ἀναγκά-
σαντες ἅπαντας, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ εἴ τινες αὐτοῖς ἔτυχον
ἔξω οὖσαι. ἐγένοντο δὲ αἱ πᾶσαι πλείους ἢ πεντή-
κοντα καὶ ἑκατόν. ὁ δὲ Καλλικρατίδας ἀκούων 26
τὴν βοήθειαν ἤδη ἐν Σάμῳ οὖσαν, αὐτοῦ μὲν κατέ-
λιπε πεντήκοντα ναῦς καὶ ἄρχοντα Ἐτεόνικον, ταῖς
δὲ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν ἀναχθεὶς ἐδειπνοποιεῖτο τῆς
Λέσβου ἐπὶ τῇ Μαλέᾳ ἄκρᾳ ἀντίον τῆς Μυτιλήνης.
τῇ δ' αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἔτυχον καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι δειπνο- 27
ποιούμενοι ἐν ταῖς Ἀργινούσαις· αὗται δ' εἰσὶν
ἀντίον τῆς Λέσβου. τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς ἰδὼν τὰ πυρά, 28
καί τινων αὐτῷ ἐξαγγειλάντων ὅτι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι
εἶεν, ἀνήγετο περὶ μέσας νύκτας, ὡς ἐξαπιναίως
προσπέσοι· ὕδωρ δ' ἐπιγενόμενον πολὺ καὶ βρονταὶ
διεκώλυσαν τὴν ἀναγωγήν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνέσχεν, ἅμα
τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἔπλει ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀργινούσας. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι 29
ἀντανήγοντο εἰς τὸ πέλαγος τῷ εὐωνύμῳ, παρατε-
ταγμένοι ὧδε. Ἀριστοκράτης μὲν τὸ εὐώνυμον
ἔχων ἡγεῖτο πεντεκαίδεκα ναυσί, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα
Διομέδων ἑτέραις πεντεκαίδεκα· ἐπετέτακτο δὲ
Ἀριστοκράτει μὲν Περικλῆς, Διομέδοντι δὲ Ἐρα-
σινίδης· παρὰ δὲ Διομέδοντα οἱ Σάμιοι δέκα ναυσὶν
ἐπὶ μιᾶς τεταγμένοι· ἐστρατήγει δὲ αὐτῶν Σάμιος
ὀνόματι Ἱππεύς· ἐχόμεναι δ' αἱ τῶν ταξιάρχων
δέκα καὶ αὐταὶ ἐπὶ μιᾶς· ἐπὶ δὲ ταύταις αἱ τῶν
ναυάρχων τρεῖς καὶ εἴ τινες ἄλλαι ἦσαν συμμαχίδες.
τὸ δὲ δεξιὸν κέρας Πρωτόμαχος εἶχε πεντεκαίδεκα 30
ναυσί· παρὰ δ' αὐτὸν Θρασύλλος ἑτέραις πεντεκαί-
δεκα· ἐπετέτακτο δὲ Πρωτομάχῳ μὲν Λυσίας,

ἔχων τὰς ἴσας ναῦς, Θρασύλῳ δὲ Ἀριστογένης.
31 οὕτω δ' ἐτάχθησαν, ἵνα μὴ διέκπλουν διδοῖεν· χεῖρον γὰρ ἔπλεον. αἱ δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀντιτεταγμέναι ἦσαν ἅπασαι ἐπὶ μιᾶς ὡς πρὸς διέκπλουν καὶ περίπλουν παρεσκευασμέναι διὰ τὸ βέλτιον πλεῖν. εἶχε δὲ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας Καλλικρατίδας.
32 Ἕρμων δὲ Μεγαρεὺς ὁ τῷ Καλλικρατίδᾳ κυβερνῶν εἶπε πρὸς αὐτόν, ὅτι εἴη καλῶς ἔχον ἀποπλεῦσαι· αἱ γὰρ τριήρεις τῶν Ἀθηναίων πολλῷ πλέονες ἦσαν. Καλλικρατίδας δὲ εἶπεν ὅτι ἡ Σπάρτη οὐδὲν μὴ κάκιον οἰκεῖται αὐτοῦ ἀποθανόντος, φεύγειν δὲ
33 αἰσχρὸν ἔφη εἶναι. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐναυμάχησαν χρόνον πολύν, πρῶτον μὲν ἀθρόαι, ἔπειτα δὲ διεσκεδασμέναι. ἐπεὶ δὲ Καλλικρατίδας τε ἐμβαλούσης τῆς νεὼς ἀποπεσὼν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν ἠφανίσθη Πρωτόμαχός τε καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ τῷ δεξιῷ τὸ εὐώνυμον ἐνίκησαν, ἐντεῦθεν φυγὴ τῶν Πελοποννησίων ἐγένετο εἰς Χίον, πλείστων δὲ καὶ εἰς Φώκαιαν· οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι πάλιν εἰς τὰς Ἀργινούσας
34 κατέπλευσαν. ἀπώλοντο δὲ τῶν μὲν Ἀθηναίων νῆες πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐκτὸς ὀλίγων τῶν πρὸς τὴν γῆν προσενεχθέντων, τῶν δὲ Πελοποννησίων Λακωνικαὶ μὲν ἐννέα, τῶν πασῶν οὐσῶν δέκα, τῶν δ' ἄλλων συμμάχων πλείους ἢ ἑξήκοντα.
35 ἔδοξε δὲ τοῖς τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγοῖς ἑπτὰ μὲν καὶ τετταράκοντα ναυσὶ Θηραμένην τε καὶ Θρασύβουλον τριηράρχους ὄντας καὶ τῶν ταξιάρχων τινὰς πλεῖν ἐπὶ τὰς καταδεδυκυίας ναῦς καὶ τοὺς ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἀνθρώπους, ταῖς δ' ἄλλαις ἐπὶ τὰς μετ' Ἐτεονίκου τῇ Μυτιλήνῃ ἐφορμούσας. ταῦτα δὲ

βουλομένους ποιεῖν ἄνεμος καὶ χειμὼν διεκώλυσεν αὐτοὺς μέγας γενόμενος· τρόπαιον δὲ στήσαντες αὐτοῦ ηὐλίζοντο. τῷ δ' Ἐτεονίκῳ ὁ ὑπηρετικὸς 36
κέλης πάντα ἐξήγγειλε τὰ περὶ τὴν ναυμαχίαν. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν πάλιν ἐξέπεμψεν εἰπὼν τοῖς ἐνοῦσι σιωπῇ ἐκπλεῖν καὶ μηδενὶ διαλέγεσθαι, παραχρῆμα δὲ αὖθις πλεῖν εἰς τὸ ἑαυτῶν στρατόπεδον ἐστεφανωμένους καὶ βοῶντας ὅτι Καλλικρατίδας νενίκηκε ναυμαχῶν καὶ ὅτι αἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων νῆες ἀπολώλασιν ἅπασαι. καὶ οἱ μὲν τοῦτ' ἐποίουν· 37
αὐτὸς δ', ἐπειδὴ ἐκεῖνοι κατέπλεον, ἔθυε τὰ εὐαγγέλια, καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις παρήγγειλε δειπνοποιεῖσθαι, καὶ τοῖς ἐμπόροις τὰ χρήματα σιωπῇ ἐνθεμένους εἰς τὰ πλοῖα ἀποπλεῖν εἰς Χίον, ἦν δὲ τὸ πνεῦμα οὔριον, καὶ τὰς τριήρεις τὴν ταχίστην. αὐτὸς δὲ τὸ πεζὸν ἀπῆγεν εἰς τὴν Μήθυμναν τὸ 38
στρατόπεδον ἐμπρήσας. Κόνων δὲ καθελκύσας τὰς ναῦς, ἐπεὶ οἵ τε πολέμιοι ἀπεδεδράκεσαν καὶ ὁ ἄνεμος εὐδιαίτερος ἦν, ἀπαντήσας τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἤδη ἀνηγμένοις ἐκ τῶν Ἀργινουσῶν ἔφρασε τὰ περὶ τοῦ Ἐτεονίκου. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι κατέπλευσαν εἰς τὴν Μυτιλήνην, ἐκεῖθεν δ' ἐπανήχθησαν εἰς τὴν Χίον, καὶ οὐδὲν διαπραξάμενοι ἀπέπλευσαν ἐπὶ Σάμου.

Οἱ δ' ἐν οἴκῳ τούτους μὲν τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἔπαυ- 7
σαν πλὴν Κόνωνος· πρὸς δὲ τούτῳ εἵλοντο Ἀδείμαντον καὶ τρίτον Φιλοκλέα. τῶν δὲ ναυμαχησάντων στρατηγῶν Πρωτόμαχος μὲν καὶ Ἀριστογένης οὐκ ἀπῆλθον εἰς Ἀθήνας, τῶν δὲ ἐξ κατα- 2
πλευσάντων, Περικλέους καὶ Διομέδοντος καὶ Λυσίου

καὶ Ἀριστοκράτους καὶ Θρασύλου καὶ Ἐρασινίδου, Ἀρχέδημος ὁ τοῦ δήμου τότε προεστηκὼς ἐν Ἀθήναις καὶ τῆς διωβελίας ἐπιμελόμενος Ἐρασινίδῃ ἐπιβολὴν ἐπιβαλὼν κατηγόρει ἐν δικαστηρίῳ, φάσκων ἐξ Ἑλλησπόντου αὐτὸν ἔχειν χρήματα ὄντα τοῦ δήμου· κατηγόρει δὲ καὶ περὶ τῆς στρατηγίας. καὶ ἔδοξε τῷ δικαστηρίῳ δῆσαι τὸν Ἐρασινίδην.
3 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐν τῇ βουλῇ διηγοῦντο οἱ στρατηγοὶ περί τε τῆς ναυμαχίας καὶ τοῦ μεγέθους τοῦ χειμῶνος. Τιμοκράτους δ' εἰπόντος, ὅτι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους χρὴ δεθέντας εἰς τὸν δῆμον παραδοθῆναι,
4 ἡ βουλὴ ἔδησε. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐκκλησια ἐγένετο, ἐν ᾗ τῶν στρατηγῶν κατηγόρουν ἄλλοι τε καὶ Θηραμένης μάλιστα, δικαίους εἶναι λόγον ὑποσχεῖν, διότι οὐκ ἀνείλοντο τοὺς ναυαγούς. ὅτι μὲν γὰρ οὐδενὸς ἄλλου καθήπτοντο ἐπιστολὴν ἐπεδείκνυε μαρτύριον, ἣν ἔπεμψαν οἱ στρατηγοὶ εἰς τὴν βουλὴν καὶ εἰς τὸν δῆμον, ἄλλο οὐδὲν αἰτιώμενοι ἢ τὸν
5 χειμῶνα. μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ οἱ στρατηγοὶ βραχέως ἕκαστος ἀπελογήσατο, οὐ γὰρ προὐτέθη σφίσι λόγος κατὰ τὸν νόμον, καὶ τὰ πεπραγμένα διηγοῦντο, ὅτι αὐτοὶ μὲν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους πλέοιεν, τὴν δὲ ἀναίρεσιν τῶν ναυαγῶν προστάξαιεν τῶν τριηράρχων ἀνδράσιν ἱκανοῖς καὶ ἐστρατηγηκόσιν ἤδη, Θηραμένει καὶ Θρασυβούλῳ καὶ ἄλλοις τοιούτοις·
6 καὶ εἴπερ γέ τινας δέοι, περὶ τῆς ἀναιρέσεως οὐδένα ἄλλον ἔχειν αὐτοὺς αἰτιάσασθαι ἢ τούτους, οἷς προσετάχθη. καὶ οὐχ, ὅτι γε κατηγοροῦσιν ἡμῶν, ἔφασαν, ψευσόμεθα φάσκοντες αὐτοὺς αἰτίους εἶναι, ἀλλὰ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ χειμῶνος εἶναι τὸ κωλῦσαν

τὴν ἀναίρεσιν. τούτων δὲ μάρτυρας παρείχοντο
τοὺς κυβερνήτας καὶ ἄλλους τῶν συμπλεόντων
πολλούς. τοιαῦτα λέγοντες ἔπειθον τὸν δῆμον· ἐ- 7
βούλοντο δὲ πολλοὶ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν ἐγγυᾶσθαι ἀνι-
στάμενοι· ἔδοξε δὲ ἀναβαλέσθαι εἰς ἑτέραν ἐκκλη-
σίαν· τότε γὰρ ὀψὲ ἦν καὶ τὰς χεῖρας οὐκ ἂν
καθεώρων· τὴν δὲ βουλὴν προβουλεύσασαν εἰσε-
νεγκεῖν ὅτῳ τρόπῳ οἱ ἄνδρες κρίνοιντο. μετὰ δὲ 8
ταῦτα ἐγίγνετο Ἀπατούρια, ἐν οἷς οἵ τε πατέρες
καὶ οἱ συγγενεῖς σύνεισι σφίσιν αὐτοῖς. οἱ οὖν περὶ
τὸν Θηραμένην παρεσκεύασαν ἀνθρώπους μέλανα
ἱμάτια ἔχοντας καὶ ἐν χρῷ κεκαρμένους πολλοὺς
ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἑορτῇ, ἵνα πρὸς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἥκοιεν,
ὡς δὴ συγγενεῖς ὄντες τῶν ἀπολωλότων, καὶ
Καλλίξενον ἔπεισαν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ κατηγορεῖν τῶν
στρατηγῶν. ἐντεῦθεν ἐκκλησίαν ἐποίουν, εἰς ἣν 9
ἡ βουλὴ εἰσήνεγκε τὴν ἑαυτῆς γνώμην Καλλιξένου
εἰπόντος τήνδε· Ἐπειδὴ τῶν τε κατηγορούντων
κατὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ ἐκείνων ἀπολογουμένων
ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀκηκόασι, διαψηφίσασθαι
Ἀθηναίους πάντας κατὰ φυλάς· θεῖναι δὲ εἰς τὴν
φυλὴν ἑκάστην δύο ὑδρίας· ἐφ᾽ ἑκάστῃ δὲ τῇ φυλῇ
κήρυκα κηρύττειν, ὅτῳ δοκοῦσιν ἀδικεῖν οἱ στρατη-
γοὶ οὐκ ἀνελόμενοι τοὺς νικήσαντας ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ,
εἰς τὴν προτέραν ψηφίσασθαι, ὅτῳ δὲ μή, εἰς τὴν
ὑστέραν· ἂν δὲ δόξωσιν ἀδικεῖν, θανάτῳ ζημιῶσαι 10
καὶ τοῖς ἕνδεκα παραδοῦναι καὶ τὰ χρήματα δημο-
σιεῦσαι, τὸ δ᾽ ἐπιδέκατον τῆς θεοῦ εἶναι. παρῆλθε 11
δέ τις εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν φάσκων ἐπὶ τεύχους
ἀλφίτων σωθῆναι· ἐπιστέλλειν δ᾽ αὐτῷ τοὺς ἀπολ-

λυμένους, ἐὰν σωθῇ, ἀπαγγεῖλαι τῷ δήμῳ ὅτι οἱ
στρατηγοὶ οὐκ ἀνείλοντο τοὺς ἀρίστους ὑπὲρ τῆς
12 πατρίδος γενομένους. τὸν δὲ Καλλίξενον προσε-
καλέσαντο παράνομα φάσκοντες συγγεγραφέναι
Εὐρυπτόλεμός τε ὁ Πεισιάνακτος καὶ ἄλλοι τινές.
τοῦ δὲ δήμου ἔνιοι ταῦτα ἐπῄνουν, τὸ δὲ πλῆθος
ἐβόα δεινὸν εἶναι, εἰ μή τις ἐάσει τὸν δῆμον πράτ-
13 τειν ὃ ἂν βούληται. καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις εἰπόντος
Λυκίσκου καὶ τούτους τῇ αὐτῇ ψήφῳ κρίνεσθαι
ᾗπερ καὶ τοὺς στρατηγούς, ἐὰν μὴ ἀφῶσι τὴν
κλῆσιν, ἐπεθορύβησε πάλιν ὁ ὄχλος, καὶ ἠναγ-
14 κάσθησαν ἀφιέναι τὰς κλήσεις. τῶν δὲ πρυτά-
νεών τινων οὐ φασκόντων προθήσειν τὴν διαψή-
φισιν παρὰ τὸν νόμον, αὖθις Καλλίξενος ἀναβὰς
κατηγόρει αὐτῶν τὰ αὐτά. οἱ δὲ ἐβόων καλεῖν
15 τοὺς οὐ φάσκοντας. οἱ δὲ πρυτάνεις φοβηθέντες
ὡμολόγουν πάντες προθήσειν πλὴν Σωκράτους
τοῦ Σωφρονίσκου· οὗτος δ' οὐκ ἔφη ἀλλ' ἢ κατὰ
16 νόμον πάντα ποιήσειν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἀναβὰς
Εὐρυπτόλεμος ἔλεξεν ὑπὲρ τῶν στρατηγῶν τάδε·

Τὰ μὲν κατηγορήσων, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
ἀνέβην ἐνθάδε Περικλέους ἀναγκαίου μοι ὄντος καὶ
ἐπιτηδείου καὶ Διομέδοντος φίλου, τὰ δ' ὑπερ-
απολογησόμενος, τὰ δὲ συμβουλεύσων ἅ μοι δοκεῖ
17 ἄριστα εἶναι ἁπάσῃ τῇ πόλει. κατηγορῶ μὲν οὖν
αὐτῶν, ὅτι ἔπεισαν τοὺς συνάρχοντας, βουλομένους
πέμπειν γράμματα τῇ τε βουλῇ καὶ ὑμῖν, ὅτι
ἐπέταξαν τῷ Θηραμένει καὶ Θρασυβούλῳ τετταρά-
κοντα καὶ ἑπτὰ τριήρεσιν ἀνελέσθαι τοὺς ναυαγούς,
18 οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἀνείλοντο. εἶτα νῦν τὴν αἰτίαν κοινὴν

ἔχουσιν ἐκείνων ἰδίᾳ ἁμαρτόντων, καὶ ἀντὶ τῆς
τότε φιλανθρωπίας νῦν ὑπ' ἐκείνων τε καί τινων
ἄλλων ἐπιβουλευόμενοι κινδυνεύουσιν ἀπολέσθαι·
οὔκ, ἂν ὑμεῖς γέ μοι πείθησθε τὰ δίκαια καὶ ὅσια 19
ποιοῦντες, καὶ ὅθεν μάλιστα τἀληθῆ πεύσεσθε καὶ
οὐ μετανοήσαντες ὕστερον εὑρήσετε σφᾶς αὐτοὺς
ἡμαρτηκότας τὰ μέγιστα εἰς θεούς τε καὶ ὑμᾶς
αὐτούς. συμβουλεύω δ' ὑμῖν, ἐν οἷς οὔθ' ὑπ' ἐμοῦ
οὔθ' ὑπ' ἄλλου οὐδενός ἐστιν ἐξαπατηθῆναι ὑμᾶς,
καὶ τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας εἰδότες κολάσεσθε ᾗ ἂν βού-
λησθε δίκῃ, καὶ ἅμα πάντας καὶ καθ' ἕνα ἕκαστον,
εἰ μὴ πλέον ἀλλὰ μίαν ἡμέραν δόντες αὐτοῖς ὑπὲρ
αὑτῶν ἀπολογήσασθαι, μὴ ἄλλοις μᾶλλον πιστεύ-
οντες ἢ ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς. ἴστε δέ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, 20
πάντες ὅτι τὸ Καννωνοῦ ψήφισμά ἐστιν ἰσχυρό-
τατον, ὃ κελεύει, ἐάν τις τὸν τῶν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον
ἀδικῇ, δεδεμένον ἀποδικεῖν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ, καὶ ἐὰν
καταγνωσθῇ ἀδικεῖν, ἀποθανεῖν εἰς τὸ βάραθρον
ἐμβληθέντα, τὰ δὲ χρήματα αὐτοῦ δημευθῆναι καὶ
τῆς θεοῦ τὸ ἐπιδέκατον εἶναι. κατὰ τοῦτο τὸ ψή- 21
φισμα κελεύω κρίνεσθαι τοὺς στρατηγοὺς καὶ νὴ
Δία, ἂν ὑμῖν γε δοκῇ, πρῶτον Περικλέα τὸν ἐμοὶ
προσήκοντα· αἰσχρὸν γάρ μοί ἐστιν ἐκεῖνον περὶ
πλείονος ποιεῖσθαι ἢ τὴν ὅλην πόλιν. τοῦτο δ' εἰ 22
βούλεσθε, κατὰ τόνδε τὸν νόμον κρίνατε, ὅς ἐστιν
ἐπὶ τοῖς ἱεροσύλοις καὶ προδόταις, ἐάν τις ἢ τὴν
πόλιν προδιδῷ ἢ τὰ ἱερὰ κλέπτῃ, κριθέντα ἐν δικ-
αστηρίῳ, ἂν καταγνωσθῇ, μὴ ταφῆναι ἐν τῇ
Ἀττικῇ, τὰ δὲ χρήματα αὐτοῦ δημόσια εἶναι. τού-
των ὁποτέρῳ βούλεσθε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῷ νόμῳ 23

κρινέσθωσαν οἱ ἄνδρες κατὰ ἕνα ἕκαστον διῃρημένων
τῆς ἡμέρας τριῶν μερῶν, ἑνὸς μὲν ἐν ᾧ συλλέγεσθαι
ὑμᾶς δεῖ καὶ διαψηφίζεσθαι, ἐάν τε ἀδικεῖν δοκῶσιν
ἐάν τε μή, ἑτέρου δ' ἐν ᾧ κατηγορῆσαι, ἑτέρου δ'
24 ἐν ᾧ ἀπολογήσασθαι. τούτων δὲ γιγνομένων οἱ μὲν
ἀδικοῦντες τεύξονται τῆς μεγίστης τιμωρίας, οἱ δ'
ἀναίτιοι ἐλευθερωθήσονται ὑφ' ὑμῶν, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι,
25 καὶ οὐκ ἀδικοῦντες ἀπολοῦνται. ὑμεῖς δὲ κατὰ
τὸν νόμον εὐσεβοῦντες καὶ εὐορκοῦντες κρινεῖτε καὶ
οὐ συμπολεμήσετε Λακεδαιμονίοις τοὺς ἐκείνους
ἑβδομήκοντα ναῦς ἀφελομένους καὶ νενικηκότας,
26 τούτους ἀπολλύντες ἀκρίτους παρὰ τὸν νόμον. τί
δὲ καὶ δεδιότες σφόδρα οὕτως ἐπείγεσθε; ἢ μὴ
οὐχ ὑμεῖς ὃν ἂν βούλησθε ἀποκτείνητε καὶ ἐλευ-
θερώσητε, ἂν κατὰ τὸν νόμον κρίνητε, ἀλλ' οὐκ
ἂν παρὰ τὸν νόμον, ὥσπερ Καλλίξενος τὴν βουλὴν
27 ἔπεισεν εἰς τὸν δῆμον εἰσενεγκεῖν μιᾷ ψήφῳ; ἀλλ'
ἴσως ἄν τινα καὶ οὐκ αἴτιον ὄντα ἀποκτείναιτε,
μεταμελήσει δὲ ὕστερον. ἀναμνήσθητε ὡς ἀλγεινὸν
καὶ ἀνωφελὲς ἤδη ἐστί, πρὸς δ' ἔτι καὶ περὶ θανάτου
28 ἀνθρώπου ἡμαρτηκότες. δεινὰ δ' ἂν ποιήσαιτε,
εἰ Ἀριστάρχῳ μὲν πρότερον τὸν δῆμον καταλύοντι,
εἶτα δὲ Οἰνόην προδιδόντι Θηβαίοις πολεμίοις
οὖσιν, ἔδοτε ἡμέραν ἀπολογήσασθαι ᾗ ἐβούλετο
καὶ τἆλλα κατὰ τὸν νόμον προὔθετε, τοὺς δὲ στρα-
τηγοὺς τοὺς πάντα ὑμῖν κατὰ γνώμην πράξαντας,
νικήσαντας δὲ τοὺς πολεμίους, τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων
29 ἀποστερήσετε. μὴ ὑμεῖς γε, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀλλ'
ἑαυτῶν ὄντας τοὺς νόμους, δι' οὓς μάλιστα μέγιστοί
ἐστε, φυλάττοντες, ἄνευ τούτων μηδὲν πράττειν

πειρᾶσθε. ἐπανέλθετε δὲ καὶ ἐπ' αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα, καθ' ἃ καὶ αἱ ἁμαρτίαι δοκοῦσι γεγενῆσθαι τοῖς στρατηγοῖς. ἐπεὶ γὰρ κρατήσαντες τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ εἰς τὴν γῆν κατέπλευσαν, Διομέδων μὲν ἐκέλευεν ἀναχθέντας ἐπὶ κέρως ἅπαντας ἀναιρεῖσθαι τὰ ναυάγια καὶ τοὺς ναυαγούς, Ἐρασινίδης δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς πρὸς Μυτιλήνην πολεμίους τὴν ταχίστην πλεῖν ἅπαντας· Θρασύλος δ' ἀμφότερα ἔφη γενέσθαι, ἂν τὰς μὲν αὐτοῦ καταλίπωσι, ταῖς δὲ
ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους πλέωσι· καὶ δοξάντων τούτων 30
καταλιπεῖν τρεῖς ναῦς ἕκαστον ἐκ τῆς αὑτοῦ συμμορίας, τῶν στρατηγῶν ὀκτὼ ὄντων, καὶ τὰς τῶν ταξιάρχων δέκα καὶ τὰς Σαμίων δέκα καὶ τὰς τῶν ναυάρχων τρεῖς· αὗται ἅπασαι γίγνονται ἑπτὰ καὶ τετταράκοντα, τέτταρες περὶ ἑκάστην ναῦν τῶν
ἀπολωλυιῶν δώδεκα οὐσῶν. τῶν δὲ καταλειφθέντων 31
τριηράρχων ἦσαν καὶ Θρασύβουλος καὶ Θηραμένης, ὃς ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ κατηγόρει τῶν στρατηγῶν. ταῖς δὲ ἄλλαις ναυσὶν ἔπλεον ἐπὶ τὰς πολεμίας. τί τούτων οὐχ ἱκανῶς καὶ καλῶς ἔπραξαν; οὐκοῦν δίκαιον τὰ μὲν πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους μὴ καλῶς πραχθέντα τοὺς πρὸς τούτους ταχθέντας ὑπέχειν λόγον, τοὺς δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἀναίρεσιν, μὴ ποιήσαντας ἃ οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐκέλευσαν, διότι οὐκ
ἀνείλοντο κρίνεσθαι. τοσοῦτον δ' ἔχω εἰπεῖν ὑπὲρ 32
ἀμφοτέρων ὅτι ὁ χειμὼν διεκώλυσε μηδὲν πρᾶξαι ὧν οἱ στρατηγοὶ παρεσκευάσαντο. τούτων δὲ μάρτυρες οἱ σωθέντες ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτομάτου, ὧν εἷς τῶν ἡμετέρων στρατηγῶν ἐπὶ καταδύσης νεὼς διασωθείς, ὃν κελεύουσι τῇ αὐτῇ ψήφῳ κρίνεσθαι, καὶ

αὐτὸν τότε δεόμενον ἀναιρέσεως, ᾗπερ τοὺς οὐ
33 πράξαντας τὰ προσταχθέντα. μὴ τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀντὶ μὲν τῆς νικης καὶ τῆς εὐτυχίας ὅμοια ποιήσητε τοῖς ἡττημένοις τε καὶ ἀτυχοῦσιν, ἀντὶ δὲ τῶν ἐκ θεοῦ ἀναγκαίων ἀγνωμονεῖν δόξητε, προδοσίαν καταγνόντες ἀντὶ τῆς ἀδυναμίας οὐχ ἱκανοὺς γενομένους διὰ τὸν χειμῶνα πρᾶξαι τὰ προσταχθέντα· ἀλλὰ πολὺ δικαιότερον στεφάνοις γεραίρειν τοὺς νικῶντας ἢ θανάτῳ ζημιοῦν πονηροῖς ἀνθρώποις πειθομένους.

34 Ταῦτ' εἰπὼν Εὐρυπτόλεμος ἔγραψε γνωμην κατὰ τὸ Καννωνοῦ ψήφισμα κρίνεσθαι τοὺς ἄνδρας δίχα ἕκαστον· ἡ δὲ τῆς βουλῆς ἦν μιᾷ ψήφῳ ἅπαντας κρίνειν. τούτων δὲ διαχειροτονουμένων τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἔκριναν τὴν Εὐρυπτολέμου· ὑπομοσαμένου δὲ Μενεκλέους καὶ πάλιν διαχειροτονίας γενομένης ἔκριναν τὴν τῆς βουλῆς. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα κατεψηφίσαντο τῶν ναυμαχησάντων στρατηγῶν
35 ὀκτὼ ὄντων· ἀπέθανον δὲ οἱ παρόντες ἕξ. καὶ οὐ πολλῷ χρόνῳ ὕστερον μετέμελε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, καὶ ἐψηφίσαντο, οἵτινες τὸν δῆμον ἐξηπάτησαν, προβολὰς αὐτῶν εἶναι καὶ ἐγγυητὰς καταστῆσαι, ἕως ἂν κριθῶσιν, εἶναι δὲ καὶ Καλλίξενον τούτων. προὐβλήθησαν δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι τέτταρες καὶ ἐδέθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγγυησαμένων. ὕστερον δὲ στάσεώς τινος γενομένης, ἐν ᾗ Κλεοφῶν ἀπέθανεν, ἀπέδρασαν οὗτοι πρὶν κριθῆναι· Καλλίξενος δὲ κατελθών, ὅτε καὶ οἱ ἐκ Πειραιῶς εἰς τὸ ἄστυ, μισούμενος ὑπὸ πάντων λιμῷ ἀπέθανεν.

## Β.

Οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ Χίῳ μετὰ τοῦ Ἐτεονίκου στρατιῶται 1 ὄντες, ἕως μὲν θέρος ἦν, ἀπό τε τῆς ὥρας ἐτρέφοντο καὶ ἐργαζόμενοι μισθοῦ κατὰ τὴν χώραν· ἐπεὶ δὲ χειμὼν ἐγένετο καὶ τροφὴν οὐκ εἶχον γυμνοί τε ἦσαν καὶ ἀνυπόδητοι, συνίσταντο ἀλλήλοις καὶ συνετίθεντο ὡς τῇ Χίῳ ἐπιθησόμενοι· οἷς δὲ ταῦτα ἀρέσκοι κάλαμον φέρειν ἐδόκει, ἵνα ἀλλήλους μάθοιεν ὁπόσοι εἴησαν. πυθόμενος δὲ τὸ σύνθημα ὁ 2 Ἐτεόνικος ἀπόρως μὲν εἶχε τί χρῷτο τῷ πράγματι, διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν καλαμηφόρων· τό τε γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς ἐπιχειρῆσαι σφαλερὸν ἐδόκει εἶναι, μὴ εἰς τὰ ὅπλα ὁρμήσωσι καὶ τὴν πόλιν κατασχόντες καὶ πολέμιοι γενόμενοι ἀπολέσωσι πάντα τὰ πράγματα, ἂν κρατήσωσι, τό τ' αὖ ἀπολλύναι ἀνθρώπους συμμάχους πολλοὺς δεινὸν ἐφαίνετο εἶναι, μή τινα καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἄλλους Ἕλληνας διαβολὴν σχοῖεν καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται δύσνοι πρὸς τὰ πράγματα ὦσιν· ἀναλαβὼν δὲ μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ 3 ἄνδρας πεντεκαίδεκα ἐγχειρίδια ἔχοντας ἐπορεύετο κατὰ τὴν πόλιν, καὶ ἐντυχών τινι ὀφθαλμιῶντι ἀνθρώπῳ ἀπιόντι ἐξ ἰατρείου, κάλαμον ἔχοντι, ἀπέκτεινε. θορύβου δὲ γενομένου καὶ ἐρωτώντων 4 τινῶν διὰ τί ἀπέθανεν ὁ ἄνθρωπος παραγγέλλειν ἐκέλευεν ὁ Ἐτεόνικος, ὅτι τὸν κάλαμον εἶχε. κατὰ δὲ τὴν παραγγελίαν ἐρρίπτουν πάντες ὅσοι εἶχον τοὺς καλάμους, ἀεὶ ὁ ἀκούων δεδιὼς μὴ ὀφθείη ἔχων. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ἐτεόνικος συγκαλέσας 5

τοὺς Χίους χρήματα ἐκέλευσε συνενεγκεῖν, ὅπως οἱ ναῦται λάβωσι μισθὸν καὶ μὴ νεωτερίσωσί τι· οἱ δὲ εἰσήνεγκαν· ἅμα δὲ εἰς τὰς ναῦς ἐσήμηνεν εἰσβαίνειν· προσιὼν δὲ ἐν μέρει παρ' ἑκάστην ναῦν παρεθάρρυνέ τε καὶ παρῄνει πολλά, ὡς τοῦ γεγενημένου οὐδὲν εἰδώς, καὶ μισθὸν ἑκάστῳ μηνὸς
6 διέδωκε. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Χῖοι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι συλλεγέντες εἰς Ἔφεσον ἐβουλεύσαντο περὶ τῶν ἐνεστηκότων πραγμάτων πέμπειν εἰς Λακεδαίμονα πρέσβεις ταῦτά τε ἐροῦντας καὶ Λύσανδρον αἰτήσοντας ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς, εὖ φερόμενον παρὰ τοῖς συμμάχοις κατὰ τὴν προτέραν ναυαρχίαν, ὅτε καὶ τὴν ἐν Νοτίῳ ἐνίκησε ναυμαχίαν.
7 καὶ ἀπεπέμφθησαν πρέσβεις, σὺν αὐτοῖς δὲ καὶ παρὰ Κύρου ταὐτὰ λέγοντες ἄγγελοι. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἔδοσαν τὸν Λύσανδρον ὡς ἐπιστολέα, ναύαρχον δὲ Ἄρακον· οὐ γὰρ νόμος αὐτοῖς δὶς τὸν αὐτὸν ναυαρχεῖν· τὰς μέντοι ναῦς παρέδοσαν Λυσάνδρῳ, ἐτῶν ἤδη τῷ πολέμῳ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι παρεληλυθότων.

8 Τούτῳ δὲ τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ καὶ Κῦρος ἀπέκτεινεν Αὐτοβοισάκην καὶ Μιτραῖον, υἱεῖς ὄντας τῆς Δαρειαίου ἀδελφῆς τῆς τοῦ Ξέρξου τοῦ Δαρείου πατρός, ὅτι αὐτῷ ἀπαντῶντες οὐ διέωσαν διὰ τῆς κόρης τὰς χεῖρας, ὃ ποιοῦσι βασιλεῖ μόνον· [ἡ δὲ κόρη ἐστὶ μακρότερον ἢ χειρίς, ἐν ᾗ τὴν χεῖρα ἔχων
9 οὐδὲν ἂν δύναιτο ποιῆσαι]. Ἱεραμένης μὲν οὖν καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἔλεγον πρὸς Δαρειαῖον δεινὸν εἶναι εἰ περιόψεται τὴν λίαν ὕβριν τούτου· ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν μεταπέμπεται ὡς ἀρρωστῶν, πέμψας ἀγγέλους.

Τῷ δ' ἐπιόντι ἔτει, ἐπὶ Ἀρχύτα μὲν 10
A. C. 405. ἐφορεύοντος, ἄρχοντος δ' ἐν Ἀθήναις
Ἀλεξίου, Λύσανδρος ἀφικόμενος εἰς Ἔφεσον μετε-
πέμψατο Ἐτεόνικον ἐκ Χίου σὺν ταῖς ναυσὶ καὶ
τὰς ἄλλας πάσας συνήθροισεν, εἴ πού τις ἦν, καὶ
ταύτας τ' ἐπεσκεύαζε καὶ ἄλλας ἐν Ἀντάνδρῳ ἐναυ-
πηγεῖτο. ἐλθὼν δὲ παρὰ Κῦρον χρήματα ᾔτει· ὁ δ' 11
αὐτῷ εἶπεν ὅτι τὰ μὲν παρὰ βασιλέως ἀνηλωμένα
εἴη καὶ ἔτι πλείω πολλῷ, δεικνύων ὅσα ἕκαστος
τῶν ναυάρχων ἔχοι, ὅμως δ' ἔδωκε. λαβὼν δὲ ὁ 12
Λύσανδρος τἀργύριον ἐπὶ τὰς τριήρεις τριηράρχους
ἐπέστησε καὶ τοῖς ναύταις τὸν ὀφειλόμενον μισθὸν
ἀπέδωκε. παρεσκευάζοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων
στρατηγοὶ πρὸς τὸ ναυτικὸν ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ.

Κῦρος δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις μετεπέμψατο Λύσανδρον, 13
ἐπεὶ αὐτῷ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἧκεν ἄγγελος λέγων
ὅτι ἀρρωστῶν ἐκεῖνον καλοίη, ὢν ἐν Θαμνηρίοις τῆς
Μηδίας ἐγγὺς Καδουσίων, ἐφ' οὓς ἐστράτευσεν
ἀφεστῶτας. ἥκοντα δὲ Λύσανδρον οὐκ εἴα ναυμα- 14
χεῖν πρὸς Ἀθηναίους, ἐὰν μὴ πολλῷ πλείους ναῦς
ἔχῃ· εἶναι γὰρ χρήματα πολλὰ καὶ βασιλεῖ καὶ
αὑτῷ, ὥστε τούτου ἕνεκεν πολλὰς πληροῦν. παρέ-
δειξε δ' αὐτῷ πάντας τοὺς φόρους τοὺς ἐκ τῶν
πόλεων, οἳ αὐτῷ ἴδιοι ἦσαν, καὶ τὰ περιττὰ χρήματα
ἔδωκε· καὶ ἀναμνήσας ὡς εἶχε φιλίας πρός τε τὴν
τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων πόλιν καὶ πρὸς Λύσανδρον ἰδίᾳ,
ἀνέβαινε παρὰ τὸν πατερα.

Λύσανδρος δ', ἐπεὶ αὐτῷ Κῦρος πάντα παραδοὺς 15
τὰ αὑτοῦ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ἀρρωστοῦντα μετάπεμπ-
τος ἀνέβαινε, μισθὸν διαδοὺς τῇ στρατιᾷ ἀνήχθη

τῆς Καρίας εἰς τὸν Κεράμειον κόλπον. καὶ προσ-
βαλὼν πόλει τῶν Ἀθηναίων συμμάχῳ ὄνομα Κε-
δρείαις τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ προσβολῇ κατὰ κράτος αἱρεῖ
καὶ ἐξηνδραπόδισεν. ἦσαν δὲ μιξοβάρβαροι οἱ ἐνοι-
16 κοῦντες. ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς Ῥόδον. οἱ δ'
Ἀθηναῖοι ἐκ τῆς Σάμου ὁρμώμενοι τὴν βασιλέως
κακῶς ἐποίουν, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Χίον καὶ τὴν Ἔφεσον
ἐπέπλεον, καὶ παρεσκευάζοντο πρὸς ναυμαχίαν, καὶ
στρατηγοὺς πρὸς τοῖς ὑπάρχουσι προσείλοντο Μέ-
17 νανδρον, Τυδέα, Κηφισόδοτον. Λύσανδρος δ' ἐκ τῆς
Ῥόδου παρὰ τὴν Ἰωνίαν ἐκπλεῖ πρὸς τὸν Ἑλλήσ-
ποντον πρός τε τῶν πλοίων τὸν ἔκπλουν καὶ ἐπὶ
τὰς ἀφεστηκυίας αὐτῶν πόλεις. ἀνήγοντο δὲ καὶ
οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐκ τῆς Χίου πελάγιοι· ἡ γὰρ Ἀσία
18 πολεμία αὐτοῖς ἦν· Λύσανδρος δ' ἐξ Ἀβύδου παρέ-
πλει εἰς Λάμψακον σύμμαχον οὖσαν Ἀθηναίων· καὶ
οἱ Ἀβυδηνοὶ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι παρῆσαν πεζῇ· ἡγεῖτο δὲ
19 Θώραξ Λακεδαιμόνιος. προσβαλόντες δὲ τῇ πόλει
αἱροῦσι κατὰ κράτος, καὶ διήρπασαν οἱ στρατιῶται
οὖσαν πλουσίαν καὶ οἴνου καὶ σίτου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
ἐπιτηδείων πλήρη· τὰ δὲ ἐλεύθερα σώματα πάντα
20 ἀφῆκε Λύσανδρος. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι κατὰ πόδας
πλέοντες ὡρμίσαντο τῆς Χερρονήσου ἐν Ἐλαιοῦντι
ναυσὶν ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν. ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἀριστο-
ποιουμένοις αὐτοῖς ἀγγέλλεται τὰ περὶ Λάμψακον,
21 καὶ εὐθὺς ἀνήχθησαν εἰς Σηστόν. ἐκεῖθεν δ' εὐθὺς
ἐπισιτισάμενοι ἔπλευσαν εἰς Αἰγὸς ποταμοὺς ἀντίον
τῆς Λαμψάκου· διέχει δ' ὁ Ἑλλήσποντος ταύτῃ
22 σταδίους ὡς πεντεκαίδεκα. ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἐδειπνο-
ποιοῦντο. Λύσανδρος δὲ τῇ ἐπιούσῃ νυκτί, ἐπεὶ

ὄρθρος ἦν, ἐσήμηνεν εἰς τὰς ναῦς ἀριστοποιησαμέ-
νους εἰσβαίνειν, πάντα δὲ παρασκευασάμενος ὡς
εἰς ναυμαχίαν καὶ τὰ παραβλήματα παραβαλὼν
προεῖπεν ὡς μηδεὶς κινήσοιτο ἐκ τῆς τάξεως μηδὲ
ἀνάξοιτο. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ἅμα τῷ ἡλίῳ ἀνίσχοντι 23
ἐπὶ τῷ λιμένι παρετάξαντο ἐν μετώπῳ ὡς εἰς ναυ-
μαχίαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἀντανήγαγε Λύσανδρος, καὶ
τῆς ἡμέρας ὀψὲ ἦν, ἀπέπλευσαν πάλιν εἰς τοὺς
Αἰγὸς ποταμούς. Λύσανδρος δὲ τὰς ταχίστας 24
τῶν νεῶν ἐκέλευσεν ἕπεσθαι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ἐπει-
δὰν δὲ ἐκβῶσι, κατιδόντας ὅ,τι ποιοῦσιν ἀποπλεῖν
καὶ αὐτῷ ἐξαγγεῖλαι. καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἐξεβίβασεν
ἐκ τῶν νεῶν πρὶν αὗται ἧκον. ταῦτα δ' ἐποίει
τέτταρας ἡμέρας· καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπανήγοντο.
Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ κατιδὼν ἐκ τῶν τειχῶν τοὺς μὲν 25
Ἀθηναίους ἐν αἰγιαλῷ ὁρμοῦντας καὶ πρὸς οὐδεμιᾷ
πόλει, τὰ δ' ἐπιτήδεια ἐκ Σηστοῦ μετιόντας πεντε-
καίδεκα σταδίους ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν, τοὺς δὲ πολεμίους
ἐν λιμένι καὶ πρὸς πόλει ἔχοντας πάντα, οὐκ ἐν
καλῷ ἔφη αὐτοὺς ὁρμεῖν, ἀλλὰ μεθορμίσαι εἰς
Σηστὸν παρῄνει πρός τε λιμένα καὶ πρὸς πόλιν·
οὗ ὄντες ναυμαχήσετε, ἔφη, ὅταν βούλησθε. οἱ 26
δὲ στρατηγοί, μάλιστα δὲ Τυδεὺς καὶ Μένανδρος,
ἀπιέναι αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσαν· αὐτοὶ γὰρ νῦν στρατη-
γεῖν, οὐκ ἐκεῖνον. καὶ ὁ μὲν ᾤχετο. Λύσανδρος 27
δ', ἐπεὶ ἦν ἡμέρα πέμπτη ἐπιπλέουσι τοῖς Ἀθη-
ναίοις, εἶπε τοῖς παρ' αὐτοῦ ἑπομένοις, ἐπὴν κατ-
ίδωσιν αὐτοὺς ἐκβεβηκότας καὶ ἐσκεδασμένους κατὰ
τὴν Χερρόνησον, ὅπερ ἐποίουν πολὺ μᾶλλον καθ'
ἑκάστην ἡμέραν τά τε σιτία πόρρωθεν ὠνούμενοι

καὶ καταφρονοῦντες δὴ τοῦ Λυσάνδρου, ὅτι οὐκ
ἀντανῆγεν, ἀποπλέοντας τοὔμπαλιν παρ' αὐτὸν
ἆραι ἀσπίδα κατὰ μέσον τὸν πλοῦν. οἱ δὲ ταῦτα
28 ἐποίησαν ὡς ἐκέλευσε. Λύσανδρος δ' εὐθὺς ἐσή-
μηνε τὴν ταχίστην πλεῖν· συμπαρῄει δὲ καὶ Θώραξ
τὸ πεζὸν ἔχων. Κόνων δὲ ἰδὼν τὸν ἐπίπλουν ἐσή-
μηνεν εἰς τὰς ναῦς βοηθεῖν κατὰ κράτος. διεσκε-
δασμένων δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὄντων, αἱ μὲν τῶν
νεῶν δίκροτοι ἦσαν, αἱ δὲ μονόκροτοι, αἱ δὲ παν-
τελῶς κεναί· ἡ δὲ Κόνωνος καὶ ἄλλαι περὶ αὐτὸν
ἑπτὰ πλήρεις ἀνήχθησαν ἀθρόαι καὶ ἡ Πάραλος,
τὰς δ' ἄλλας πάσας Λύσανδρος ἔλαβε πρὸς τῇ
γῇ. τοὺς δὲ πλείστους ἄνδρας ἐν τῇ γῇ συνέλεξεν·
29 οἱ δὲ καὶ ἔφυγον εἰς τὰ τειχύδρια. Κόνων δὲ ταῖς
ἐννέα ναυσὶ φεύγων, ἐπεὶ ἔγνω τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὰ
πράγματα διεφθαρμένα, κατασχὼν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀβαρ-
νίδα τὴν Λαμψάκου ἄκραν ἔλαβεν αὐτόθεν τὰ
μεγάλα τῶν Λυσάνδρου νεῶν ἱστία, καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν
ὀκτὼ ναυσὶν ἀπέπλευσε παρ' Εὐαγόραν εἰς Κύπρον,
ἡ δὲ Πάραλος εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας, ἀπαγγέλλουσα τὰ
30 γεγονότα. Λύσανδρος δὲ τάς τε ναῦς καὶ τοὺς
αἰχμαλώτους καὶ τἆλλα πάντα εἰς Λάμψακον
ἀπήγαγεν, ἔλαβε δὲ καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἄλλους
τε καὶ Φιλοκλέα καὶ Ἀδείμαντον. ᾗ δ' ἡμέρᾳ
ταῦτα κατειργάσατο, ἔπεμψε Θεόπομπον τὸν Μι-
λήσιον λῃστὴν εἰς Λακεδαίμονα, ἀπαγγελοῦντα τὰ
31 γεγονότα, ὃς ἀφικόμενος τριταῖος ἀπήγγειλε. μετὰ
δὲ ταῦτα Λύσανδρος ἀθροίσας τοὺς συμμάχους
ἐκέλευσε βουλεύεσθαι περὶ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων. ἐν-
ταῦθα δὴ κατηγορίαι ἐγίγνοντο πολλαὶ τῶν Ἀθη-

ναίων, ἅ τε ἤδη παρανενομήκεσαν καὶ ἃ ἐψηφισ-
μένοι ἦσαν ποιεῖν, εἰ κρατήσειαν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ, τὴν
δεξιὰν χεῖρα ἀποκόπτειν τῶν ζωγρηθέντων πάντων,
καὶ ὅτι λαβόντες δύο τριήρεις, Κορινθίαν καὶ
Ἀνδρίαν, τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐξ αὐτῶν πάντας κατακρημ-
νίσειαν· Φιλοκλῆς δ' ἦν στρατηγὸς τῶν Ἀθηναίων,
ὃς τούτους διέφθειρεν. ἐλέγετο δὲ καὶ ἄλλα πολλά, 32
καὶ ἔδοξεν ἀποκτεῖναι τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ὅσοι ἦσαν
Ἀθηναῖοι πλὴν Ἀδειμάντου, ὅτι μόνος ἐπελάβετο
ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ περὶ τῆς ἀποτομῆς τῶν χειρῶν
ψηφίσματος· ᾐτιάθη μέντοι ὑπό τινων προδοῦναι
τὰς ναῦς. Λύσανδρος δὲ Φιλοκλέα πρῶτον ἐρω-
τήσας, ὃς τοὺς Ἀνδρίους καὶ Κορινθίους κατεκρήμ-
νισε, τί εἴη ἄξιος παθεῖν ἀρξάμενος εἰς Ἕλληνας
παρανομεῖν, ἀπέσφαξεν.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ ἐν τῇ Λαμψάκῳ κατεστήσατο, 2
ἔπλει ἐπὶ τὸ Βυζάντιον καὶ Καλχηδόνα. οἱ δ'
αὐτὸν ὑπεδέχοντο, τοὺς τῶν Ἀθηναίων φρουροὺς
ὑποσπόνδους ἀφέντες. οἱ δὲ προδόντες Ἀλκιβιάδῃ
τὸ Βυζάντιον τότε μὲν ἔφυγον εἰς τὸν Πόντον,
ὕστερον δ' εἰς Ἀθήνας καὶ ἐγένοντο Ἀθηναῖοι.
Λύσανδρος δὲ τούς τε φρουροὺς τῶν Ἀθηναίων 2
καὶ εἴ τινά που ἄλλον ἴδοι Ἀθηναῖον, ἀπέπεμπεν
εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας, διδοὺς ἐκεῖσε μόνον πλέουσιν
ἀσφάλειαν, ἄλλοσε δ' οὔ, εἰδὼς ὅτι ὅσῳ ἂν πλείους
συλλεγῶσιν εἰς τὸ ἄστυ καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ, θᾶττον
τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἔνδειαν ἔσεσθαι. καταλιπὼν δὲ
Βυζαντίου καὶ Καλχηδόνος Σθενέλαον ἁρμοστὴν
Λάκωνα, αὐτὸς ἀποπλεύσας εἰς Λάμψακον τὰς ναῦς
ἐπεσκεύαζεν.

3 Ἐν δὲ ταῖς Ἀθήναις τῆς Παράλου ἀφικομένης νυκτὸς ἐλέγετο ἡ συμφορά, καὶ οἰμωγὴ ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς διὰ τῶν μακρῶν τειχῶν εἰς ἄστυ διῆκεν, ὁ ἕτερος τῷ ἑτέρῳ παραγγέλλων· ὥστ᾽ ἐκείνης τῆς νυκτὸς οὐδεὶς ἐκοιμήθη, οὐ μόνον τοὺς ἀπολωλότας πενθοῦντες, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἔτι αὐτοὶ ἑαυτούς, πείσεσθαι νομίζοντες οἷα ἐποίησαν Μηλίους τε Λακεδαιμονίων ἀποίκους ὄντας, κρατήσαντες πολιορκίᾳ, καὶ Ἱστιαιέας καὶ Σκιωναίους καὶ Τορωναίους καὶ Αἰγινήτας καὶ ἄλλους πολλοὺς τῶν
4 Ἑλλήνων. τῇ δ᾽ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐκκλησίαν ἐποίησαν, ἐν ᾗ ἔδοξε τούς τε λιμένας ἀποχῶσαι πλὴν ἑνὸς καὶ τὰ τείχη εὐτρεπίζειν καὶ φυλακὰς ἐφιστάναι καὶ τἆλλα πάντα ὡς εἰς πολιορκίαν παρασκευάζειν τὴν πόλιν. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν περὶ ταῦτα ἦσαν.

5 Λύσανδρος δ᾽ ἐκ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου ναυσὶ διακοσίαις ἀφικόμενος εἰς Λέσβον κατεσκευάσατο τάς τε ἄλλας πόλεις ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ Μυτιλήνην· εἰς δὲ τὰ ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης χωρία ἔπεμψε δέκα τριήρεις ἔχοντα Ἐτεόνικον, ὃς τὰ ἐκεῖ πάντα πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους μετέ-
6 στησεν. εὐθὺς δὲ καὶ ἡ ἄλλη Ἑλλὰς ἀφειστήκει Ἀθηναίων μετὰ τὴν ναυμαχίαν πλὴν Σαμίων· οὗτοι δὲ σφαγὰς τῶν γνωρίμων ποιήσαντες κατεῖχον τὴν
7 πόλιν. Λύσανδρος δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἔπεμψε πρὸς Ἆγίν τε εἰς Δεκέλειαν καὶ εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ὅτι προσπλεῖ σὺν διακοσίαις ναυσί. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἐξῄεσαν πανδημεὶ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Πελοποννήσιοι πλὴν Ἀργείων, παραγγείλαντος τοῦ ἑτέρου Λακεδαιμονίων
8 βασιλέως Παυσανίου. ἐπεὶ δ᾽ ἅπαντες ἠθροίσθησαν, ἀναλαβὼν αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἐστρατοπέ-

δευσεν ἐν τῇ Ἀκαδημείᾳ τῷ καλουμένῳ γυμνασίῳ. Λύσανδρος δὲ ἀφικόμενος εἰς Αἴγιναν ἀπέδωκε τὴν 9 πόλιν Αἰγινήταις, ὅσους ἐδύνατο πλείστους ἀθροίσας αὐτῶν, ὡς δ' αὔτως καὶ Μηλίοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅσοι τῆς αὐτῶν ἐστέροντο. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο δῃώσας Σαλαμῖνα ὡρμίσατο πρὸς τὸν Πειραιᾶ ναυσὶ πεντηκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν, καὶ τὰ πλοῖα εἶργε τοῦ εἴσπλου.

Οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι πολιορκούμενοι κατὰ γῆν καὶ 10 κατὰ θάλατταν ἠπόρουν τί χρὴ ποιεῖν, οὔτε νεῶν οὔτε συμμάχων αὐτοῖς ὄντων οὔτε σίτου· ἐνόμιζον δ' οὐδεμίαν εἶναι σωτηρίαν τοῦ μὴ παθεῖν ἃ οὐ τιμωρούμενοι ἐποίησαν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν ὕβριν ἠδίκουν ἀνθρώπους μικροπολίτας οὐδ' ἐπὶ μιᾷ αἰτίᾳ ἑτέρᾳ ἢ ὅτι ἐκείνοις συνεμάχουν. διὰ ταῦτα τοὺς ἀτίμους 11 ἐπιτίμους ποιήσαντες ἐκαρτέρουν, καὶ ἀποθνησκόντων ἐν τῇ πόλει λιμῷ πολλῶν οὐ διελέγοντο περὶ διαλλαγῆς. ἐπεὶ δὲ παντελῶς ἤδη ὁ σῖτος ἐπελελοίπει, ἔπεμψαν πρέσβεις παρ' Ἆγιν, βουλόμενοι σύμμαχοι εἶναι Λακεδαιμονίοις ἔχοντες τὰ τείχη καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις συνθήκας ποιεῖσθαι. ὁ 12 δὲ αὐτοὺς εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ἐκέλευεν ἰέναι· οὐ γὰρ εἶναι κύριος αὐτός. ἐπεὶ δ' ἀπήγγειλαν οἱ πρέσβεις ταῦτα τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ἔπεμψαν αὐτοὺς εἰς Λακεδαίμονα. οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ ἦσαν ἐν Σελλασίᾳ 13 πλησίον τῆς Λακωνικῆς καὶ ἐπύθοντο οἱ ἔφοροι αὐτῶν ἃ ἔλεγον, ὄντα οἷάπερ καὶ πρὸς Ἆγιν, αὐτόθεν αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευον ἀπιέναι, καὶ εἴ τι δέονται εἰρήνης, κάλλιον ἥκειν βουλευσαμένους. οἱ δὲ πρέσβεις 14 ἐπεὶ ἧκον οἴκαδε καὶ ἀπήγγειλαν ταῦτα εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἀθυμία ἐνέπεσε πᾶσιν· ᾤοντο γὰρ ἀνδραπο-

δισθήσεσθαι, καὶ ἕως ἂν πεμπωσιν ἑτέρους πρέσ-
15 βεις, πολλοὺς τῷ λιμῷ ἀπολεῖσθαι. περὶ δὲ τῶν
τειχῶν τῆς καθαιρέσεως οὐδεὶς ἐβούλετο συμβου-
λεύειν· Ἀρχέστρατος γὰρ εἰπὼν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ Λακε-
δαιμονίοις κράτιστον εἶναι ἐφ' οἷς προὐκαλοῦντο
εἰρήνην ποιεῖσθαι, ἐδέθη· προὐκαλοῦντο δὲ τῶν
μακρῶν τειχῶν ἐπὶ δέκα σταδίους καθελεῖν ἑκατέρου·
ἐγένετο δὲ ψήφισμα μὴ ἐξεῖναι περὶ τούτων συμ-
16 βουλεύειν. τοιούτων δὲ ὄντων Θηραμένης ἐν ἐκκλη-
σίᾳ εἶπεν ὅτι εἰ βούλονται αὐτὸν πέμψαι παρὰ
Λύσανδρον, εἰδὼς ἥξει Λακεδαιμονίους πότερον ἐξ-
ανδραποδίσασθαι τὴν πόλιν βουλόμενοι ἀντέχουσι
περὶ τῶν τειχῶν ἢ πίστεως ἕνεκα. πεμφθεὶς δὲ
διέτριβε παρὰ Λυσάνδρῳ τρεῖς μῆνας καὶ πλείω,
ἐπιτηρῶν ὁπότε Ἀθηναῖοι ἔμελλον διὰ τὸ ἐπιλελ-
οιπέναι τὸν σῖτον ἅπαντα ὅ,τι τις λέγοι ὁμολογ-
17 ήσειν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἧκε τετάρτῳ μηνί, ἀπήγγειλεν ἐν
ἐκκλησίᾳ ὅτι αὐτὸν Λύσανδρος τέως μὲν κατέχοι,
εἶτα κελεύοι εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ἰέναι· οὐ γὰρ εἶναι
κύριος ὧν ἐρωτῷτο ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐφόρους.
μετὰ ταῦτα ᾑρέθη πρεσβευτὴς εἰς Λακεδαίμονα
18 αὐτοκράτωρ δέκατος αὐτός. Λύσανδρος δὲ τοῖς
ἐφόροις ἔπεμψεν ἀγγελοῦντα μετ' ἄλλων Λακεδαι-
μονίων Ἀριστοτέλην, φυγάδα Ἀθηναῖον ὄντα, ὅτι
ἀποκρίναιτο Θηραμένει ἐκείνους κυρίους εἶναι εἰρή-
19 νης καὶ πολέμου. Θηραμένης δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πρέσ-
βεις ἐπεὶ ἦσαν ἐν Σελλασίᾳ, ἐρωτώμενοι δὲ ἐπὶ τίνι
λόγῳ ἥκοιεν εἶπον ὅτι αὐτοκράτορες περὶ εἰρήνης,
μετὰ ταῦτα οἱ ἔφοροι καλεῖν ἐκέλευον αὐτούς. ἐπεὶ
δ' ἧκον, ἐκκλησίαν ἐποίησαν, ἐν ᾗ ἀντέλεγον Κορίν-

*θιοι καὶ Θηβαῖοι μάλιστα, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν
Ἑλλήνων, μὴ σπένδεσθαι Ἀθηναίοις, ἀλλ' ἐξαιρεῖν.
Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ οὐκ ἔφασαν πόλιν Ἑλληνίδα ἀν- 20
δραποδιεῖν μέγα ἀγαθὸν εἰργασμένην ἐν τοῖς μεγίσ-
τοις κινδύνοις γενομένοις τῇ Ἑλλάδι, ἀλλ' ἐποι-
οῦντο εἰρήνην ἐφ' ᾧ τά τε μακρὰ τείχη καὶ τὸν
Πειραιᾶ καθελόντας καὶ τὰς ναῦς πλὴν δώδεκα
παραδόντας καὶ τοὺς φυγάδας καθέντας τὸν αὐτὸν
ἐχθρὸν καὶ φίλον νομίζοντας Λακεδαιμονίοις ἕπεσ-
θαι καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν ὅποι ἂν ἡγῶν-
ται. Θηραμένης δὲ καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ πρέσβεις ἐπαν- 21
έφερον ταῦτα εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας. εἰσιόντας δ' αὐτοὺς
ὄχλος περιεχεῖτο πολύς, φοβούμενοι μὴ ἄπρακτοι
ἥκοιεν· οὐ γὰρ ἔτι ἐνεχώρει μέλλειν διὰ τὸ πλῆθος
τῶν ἀπολλυμένων τῷ λιμῷ. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἀπήγ- 22
γελλον οἱ πρέσβεις ἐφ' οἷς οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ποι-
οῖντο τὴν εἰρήνην· προηγόρει δὲ αὐτῶν Θηραμένης,
λέγων ὡς χρὴ πείθεσθαι Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ τὰ
τείχη περιαιρεῖν. ἀντειπόντων δέ τινων αὐτῷ, πολὺ
δὲ πλειόνων συνεπαινεσάντων, ἔδοξε δέχεσθαι τὴν
εἰρήνην. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Λύσανδρός τε κατέπλει εἰς 23
τὸν Πειραιᾶ καὶ οἱ φυγάδες κατῄεσαν καὶ τὰ τείχη
κατέσκαπτον ὑπ' αὐλητρίδων πολλῇ προθυμίᾳ, νομί-
ζοντες ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἄρχειν τῆς
ἐλευθερίας.*

*Καὶ ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς ἔληγεν, ἐν ᾧ μεσοῦντι Διονύσιος 24
ὁ Ἑρμοκράτους Συρακόσιος ἐτυράννησε, μάχῃ μὲν
πρότερον ἡττηθέντων ὑπὸ Συρακοσίων Καρχηδο-
νίων, σπάνει δὲ σίτου ἑλόντων Ἀκράγαντα, ἐκλι-
πόντων τῶν Σικελιωτῶν τὴν πόλιν.*

3 Τῷ δ' ἐπιόντι ἔτει, ᾧ ἦν Ὀλυμπιάς, ᾗ
A. C. 404. τὸ στάδιον ἐνίκα Κροκίνας Θετταλός, Ἐνδίου ἐν Σπάρτῃ ἐφορεύοντος, Πυθοδώρου δ' ἐν Ἀθήναις ἄρχοντος, ὃν Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅτι ἐν ὀλιγαρχίᾳ ᾑρέθη, οὐκ ὀνομάζουσιν, ἀλλ' ἀναρχίαν τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν
2 καλοῦσιν. ἐγένετο δὲ αὕτη ἡ ὀλιγαρχία ὧδε. ἔδοξε τῷ δήμῳ τριάκοντα ἄνδρας ἑλέσθαι, οἳ τοὺς πατρίους νόμους συγγράψουσι, καθ' οὓς πολιτεύσουσι. καὶ ᾑρέθησαν οἵδε, Πολυχάρης, Κριτίας, Μηλόβιος, Ἱππόλοχος, Εὐκλείδης, Ἱέρων, Μνησίλοχος, Χρέμων, Θηραμένης, Ἀρεσίας, Διοκλῆς, Φαιδρίας, Χαιρέλεως, Ἀναίτιος, Πείσων, Σοφοκλῆς, Ἐρατοσθένης, Χαρικλῆς, Ὀνομακλῆς, Θέογνις, Αἰσχίνης, Θεογένης, Κλεομήδης, Ἐρασίστρατος, Φείδων, Δρακοντίδης, Εὐμάθης, Ἀριστοτέλης, Ἱππόμαχος, Μνησι-
3 θείδης. τούτων δὲ πραχθέντων ἀπέπλει Λύσανδρος πρὸς Σάμον, Ἆγις δ' ἐκ τῆς Δεκελείας ἀπαγαγὼν τὸ πεζὸν στράτευμα διέλυσε κατὰ πόλεις ἑκάστους.

4 Κατὰ δὲ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν περὶ ἡλίου ἔκλειψιν Λυκόφρων ὁ Φεραῖος, βουλόμενος ἄρξαι ὅλης τῆς Θετταλίας, τοὺς ἐναντιουμένους αὐτῷ τῶν Θετταλῶν, Λαρισαίους τε καὶ ἄλλους, μάχῃ ἐνίκησε καὶ πολλοὺς ἀπέκτεινεν.

5 Ἐν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ καὶ Διονύσιος ὁ Συρακόσιος τύραννος μάχῃ ἡττηθεὶς ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίων Γέλαν καὶ Καμάριναν ἀπώλεσε. μετ' ὀλίγον δὲ καὶ Λεοντῖνοι Συρακοσίοις συνοικοῦντες ἀπέστησαν εἰς τὴν αὑτῶν πόλιν ἀπὸ Διονυσίου καὶ Συρακοσίων. παραχρῆμα δὲ καὶ οἱ Συρακόσιοι ἱππεῖς ὑπὸ Διονυσίου εἰς Κατάνην ἀπεστάλησαν.

Οἱ δὲ Σάμιοι πολιορκούμενοι ὑπὸ Λυσάνδρου 6
πάντῃ, ἐπεὶ οὐ βουλομένων αὐτῶν τὸ πρῶτον ὁμο-
λογεῖν προσβάλλειν ἤδη ἔμελλεν ὁ Λύσανδρος,
ὡμολόγησαν ἓν ἱμάτιον ἔχων ἕκαστος ἀπιέναι τῶν
ἐλευθέρων, τὰ δ' ἄλλα παραδοῦναι· καὶ οὕτως ἐξῆλ-
θον. Λύσανδρος δὲ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις πολίταις παρα- 7
δοὺς τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὰ ἐνόντα πάντα καὶ δέκα
ἄρχοντας καταστήσας φρουρεῖν ἀφῆκε τὸ τῶν συμ-
μάχων ναυτικὸν κατὰ πόλεις, ταῖς δὲ Λακωνικαῖς 8
ναυσὶν ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς Λακεδαίμονα, ἀπάγων τά τε
τῶν αἰχμαλώτων νεῶν ἀκρωτήρια καὶ τὰς ἐκ τοῦ
Πειραιῶς τριήρεις πλὴν δώδεκα καὶ στεφάνους, οὓς
παρὰ τῶν πόλεων ἐλάμβανε δῶρα ἰδίᾳ, καὶ ἀργυ-
ρίου τετρακόσια καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα τάλαντα, ἃ περιε-
γένοντο τῶν φόρων, οὓς αὐτῷ Κῦρος παρέδειξεν εἰς
τὸν πόλεμον, καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο ἐκτήσατο ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ.
ταῦτα δὲ πάντα Λακεδαιμονίοις ἀπέδωκε, τελευ- 9
τῶντος τοῦ θέρους, εἰς ὃ ἑξάμηνος καὶ ὀκτὼ καὶ
εἴκοσιν ἔτη τῷ πολέμῳ ἐτελεύτα, ἐν οἷς ἔφοροι οἱ
ἀριθμούμενοι οἵδε ἐγένοντο, Αἰνησίας πρῶτος, ἐφ'
οὗ ἤρξατο ὁ πόλεμος, πέμπτῳ καὶ δεκάτῳ ἔτει τῶν
μετ' Εὐβοίας ἅλωσιν τριακονταετίδων σπονδῶν,
μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον οἵδε, Βρασίδας, Ἰσάνωρ, Σωστρατί- 10
δας, Ἔξαρχος, Ἀγησίστρατος, Ἀγγενίδας, Ὀνομα-
κλῆς, Ζεύξιππος, Πιτύας, Πλειστόλας, Κλεινόμαχος,
Ἴλαρχος, Λέων, Χαιρίλας, Πατησιάδας, Κλεο-
σθένης, Λυκάριος, Ἐπήρατος, Ὀνομάντιος, Ἀλεξ-
ιππίδας, Μισγολαΐδας, Ἰσίας, Ἄρακος, Εὐάρχιππος,
Παντακλῆς, Πιτύας, Ἀρχύτας, Ἔνδιος, ἐφ' οὗ
Λύσανδρος πράξας τὰ εἰρημένα οἴκαδε κατέπλευσεν.

11 Οἱ δὲ τριάκοντα ᾑρέθησαν μέν, ἐπεὶ τάχιστα τὰ
μακρὰ τείχη καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ καθῃρέθη·
αἱρεθέντες δὲ ἐφ᾿ ᾧτε συγγράψαι νόμους, καθ᾿ οὕσ-
τινας πολιτεύσοιντο, τούτους μὲν ἀεὶ ἔμελλον
συγγράφειν τε καὶ ἀποδεικνύναι, βουλὴν δὲ καὶ τὰς
12 ἄλλας ἀρχὰς κατέστησαν ὡς ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς. ἔπειτα
πρῶτον μὲν οὓς πάντες ᾔδεσαν ἐν τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ
ἀπὸ συκοφαντίας ζῶντας καὶ τοῖς καλοῖς κἀγαθοῖς
βαρεῖς ὄντας, συλλαμβάνοντες ὑπῆγον θανάτου·
καὶ ἥ τε βουλὴ ἡδέως αὐτῶν κατεψηφίζετο οἵ τε
ἄλλοι, ὅσοι συνῄδεσαν ἑαυτοῖς μὴ ὄντες τοιοῦτοι,
13 οὐδὲν ἤχθοντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤρξαντο βουλεύεσθαι ὅπως
ἂν ἐξείη αὐτοῖς τῇ πόλει χρῆσθαι ὅπως βούλοιντο,
ἐκ τούτου πρῶτον μὲν πέμψαντες εἰς Λακεδαίμονα
Αἰσχίνην τε καὶ Ἀριστοτέλην ἔπεισαν Λύσανδρον
φρουροὺς σφίσι συμπρᾶξαι ἐλθεῖν, ἕως δὴ τοὺς
πονηροὺς ἐκποδὼν ποιησάμενοι καταστήσαιντο τὴν
14 πολιτείαν· θρέψειν δὲ αὐτοὶ ὑπισχνοῦντο. ὁ δὲ
πεισθεὶς τούς τε φρουροὺς καὶ Καλλίβιον ἁρμοστὴν
συνέπραξεν αὐτοῖς πεμφθῆναι. οἱ δ᾿ ἐπεὶ τὴν
φρουρὰν ἔλαβον, τὸν μὲν Καλλίβιον ἐθεράπευον
πάσῃ θεραπείᾳ, ὡς πάντα ἐπαινοίη ἃ πράττοιεν,
τῶν δὲ φρουρῶν τούτου συμπέμποντος αὐτοῖς οὓς
ἐβούλοντο συνελάμβανον οὐκέτι τοὺς πονηρούς τε
καὶ ὀλίγου ἀξίους, ἀλλ᾿ ἤδη οὓς ἐνόμιζον ἥκιστα
μὲν παρωθουμένους ἀνέχεσθαι, ἀντιπράττειν δέ τι
ἐπιχειροῦντας πλείστους ἂν τοὺς συνεθέλοντας λαμ-
15 βάνειν. τῷ μὲν οὖν πρώτῳ χρόνῳ ὁ Κριτίας τῷ
Θηραμένει ὁμογνώμων τε καὶ φίλος ἦν· ἐπεὶ δὲ
αὐτὸς μὲν προπετὴς ἦν ἐπὶ τὸ πολλοὺς ἀποκτείνειν,

ἅτε καὶ φυγὼν ὑπὸ τοῦ δημου, ὁ δὲ Θηραμένης
ἀντέκοπτε λέγων ὅτι οὐκ εἰκὸς εἴη θανατοῦν, εἴ τις
ἐτιμᾶτο ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, τοὺς δὲ καλοὺς κἀγαθοὺς
μηδὲν κακὸν εἰργάζετο, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐγώ, ἔφη, καὶ σὺ
πολλὰ δὴ τοῦ ἀρέσκειν ἕνεκα τῇ πόλει καὶ εἴπομεν
καὶ ἐπράξαμεν· ὁ δέ, ἔτι γὰρ οἰκείως ἐχρῆτο τῷ 16
Θηραμένει, ἀντέλεγεν ὅτι οὐκ ἐγχωροίη τοῖς πλεον-
εκτεῖν βουλομένοις μὴ οὐκ ἐκποδὼν ποιεῖσθαι τοὺς
ἱκανωτάτους διακωλύειν· εἰ δέ, ὅτι τριάκοντά ἐσμεν
καὶ οὐχ εἷς, ἧττόν τι οἴει ὥσπερ τυραννίδος ταύτης
τῆς ἀρχῆς χρῆναι ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, εὐήθης εἶ. ἐπεὶ 17
δὲ ἀποθνησκόντων πολλῶν καὶ ἀδίκως πολλοὶ δῆλοι
ἦσαν συνιστάμενοί τε καὶ θαυμάζοντες τί ἔσοιτο ἡ
πολιτεία, πάλιν ἔλεγεν ὁ Θηραμένης ὅτι εἰ μή τις
κοινωνοὺς ἱκανοὺς λήψοιτο τῶν πραγμάτων, ἀδύνα-
τον ἔσοιτο τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν διαμένειν. ἐκ τούτου 18
μέντοι Κριτίας καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι τριάκοντα, ἤδη φοβού-
μενοι καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα τὸν Θηραμένην, μὴ συρρυείη-
σαν πρὸς αὐτὸν οἱ πολῖται, καταλέγουσι τρισχιλίους
τοὺς μεθέξοντας δὴ τῶν πραγμάτων. ὁ δ' αὖ Θηρα- 19
μένης καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα ἔλεγεν ὅτι ἄτοπον δοκοίη
ἑαυτῷ γε εἶναι τὸ πρῶτον μὲν βουλομένους τοὺς
βελτίστους τῶν πολιτῶν κοινωνούς, ποιήσασθαι
τρισχιλίους, ὥσπερ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τοῦτον ἔχοντά τινα
ἀνάγκην καλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς εἶναι καὶ οὔτ' ἔξω τού-
των σπουδαίους οὔτ' ἐντὸς τούτων πονηροὺς οἷόν τε
εἴη γενέσθαι· ἔπειτα δ', ἔφη, ὁρῶ ἔγωγε δύο ἡμᾶς
τὰ ἐναντιώτατα πράττοντας, βιαίαν τε τὴν ἀρχὴν
καὶ ἥττονα τῶν ἀρχομένων κατασκευαζομένους. ὁ
μὲν ταῦτ' ἔλεγεν. οἱ δ' ἐξέτασιν ποιήσαντες τῶν 20

μὲν τρισχιλίων ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ, τῶν δ' ἔξω τοῦ καταλόγου ἄλλων ἀλλαχοῦ, ἔπειτα κελεύσαντες ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα, ἐν ᾧ ἐκεῖνοι ἀπεληλύθεσαν, πέμψαντες τοὺς φρουροὺς καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν τοὺς ὁμογνώμονας αὑτοῖς τὰ ὅπλα πάντων πλὴν τῶν τρισχιλίων παρείλοντο καὶ ἀνακομίσαντες ταῦτα εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν συνέ-
21 θηκαν ἐν τῷ ναῷ. τούτων δὲ γενομένων, ὡς ἐξὸν ἤδη ποιεῖν αὐτοῖς ὅ,τι βούλοιντο, πολλοὺς μὲν ἔχθρας ἕνεκα ἀπέκτεινον, πολλοὺς δὲ χρημάτων. ἔδοξε δ' αὐτοῖς, ὅπως ἔχοιεν καὶ τοῖς φρουροῖς χρήματα διδόναι, καὶ τῶν μετοίκων ἕνα ἕκαστον λαβεῖν, καὶ αὐτοὺς μὲν ἀποκτεῖναι, τὰ δὲ χρήματα αὐτῶν
22 ἀποσημήνασθαι. ἐκέλευον δὲ καὶ τὸν Θηραμένην λαβεῖν ὅντινα βούλοιτο. ὁ δ' ἀπεκρίνατο, Ἀλλ' οὐ δοκεῖ μοι, ἔφη, καλὸν εἶναι φάσκοντας βελτίστους εἶναι ἀδικώτερα τῶν συκοφαντῶν ποιεῖν. ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γὰρ παρ' ὧν χρήματα λαμβάνοιεν ζῆν εἴων, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀποκτενοῦμεν μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντας, ἵνα χρήματα λαμβάνωμεν; πῶς οὐ ταῦτα τῷ παντὶ ἐκείνων
23 ἀδικώτερα; οἱ δ' ἐμποδὼν νομίζοντες αὐτὸν εἶναι τῷ ποιεῖν ὅ,τι βούλοιντο ἐπιβουλεύουσιν αὐτῷ, καὶ ἰδίᾳ πρὸς τοὺς βουλευτὰς ἄλλος πρὸς ἄλλον διέβαλλον ὡς λυμαινόμενον τὴν πολιτείαν. καὶ παραγγείλαντες νεανίσκοις οἳ ἐδόκουν αὐτοῖς θρασύτατοι εἶναι ξιφίδια ὑπὸ μάλης ἔχοντας παραγενέσθαι,
24 συνέλεξαν τὴν βουλήν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Θηραμένης παρῆν, ἀναστὰς ὁ Κριτίας ἔλεξεν ὧδε·

Ὦ ἄνδρες βουλευταί, εἰ μέν τις ὑμῶν νομίζει πλείονας τοῦ καιροῦ ἀποθνήσκειν, ἐννοησάτω ὅτι, ὅπου πολιτεῖαι μεθίστανται, πανταχοῦ ταῦτα γίγνε-

ται· πλείστους δ' ἀνάγκη ἐνθάδε πολεμίους εἶναι
τοῖς εἰς ὀλιγαρχίαν μεθιστᾶσι διά τε τὸ πολυ-
ανθρωποτάτην τῶν Ἑλληνίδων τὴν πόλιν εἶναι
καὶ διὰ τὸ πλεῖστον χρόνον ἐν ἐλευθερίᾳ τὸν δῆμον
τεθράφθαι. ἡμεῖς δὲ γνόντες μὲν τοῖς οἵοις ἡμῖν 25
τε καὶ ὑμῖν χαλεπὴν πολιτείαν εἶναι δημοκρατίαν,
γνόντες δὲ ὅτι Λακεδαιμονίοις τοῖς περισώσασιν
ἡμᾶς ὁ μὲν δῆμος οὔποτ' ἂν φίλος γένοιτο, οἱ δὲ
βέλτιστοι ἀεὶ ἂν πιστοὶ διατελοῖεν, διὰ ταῦτα σὺν
τῇ Λακεδαιμονίων γνώμῃ τήνδε τὴν πολιτείαν κα-
θίσταμεν. καὶ ἐάν τινα αἰσθανώμεθα ἐναντίον τῇ 26
ὀλιγαρχίᾳ, ὅσον δυνάμεθα ἐκποδὼν ποιούμεθα·
πολὺ δὲ μάλιστα ἡμῖν δοκεῖ δίκαιον εἶναι, εἴ τις
ἡμῶν αὐτῶν λυμαίνεται ταύτῃ τῇ καταστάσει,
δίκην αὐτὸν διδόναι. νῦν οὖν αἰσθανόμεθα Θηρα- 27
μένην τουτονὶ οἷς δύναται ἀπολλύντα ἡμᾶς τε καὶ
ὑμᾶς. ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ἀληθῆ, ἢν κατανοῆτε, εὑρήσετε
οὔτε ψέγοντα οὐδένα μᾶλλον Θηραμένους τουτουὶ
τὰ παρόντα οὔτε ἐναντιούμενον, ὅταν τινὰ ἐκποδὼν
βουλώμεθα ποιήσασθαι τῶν δημαγωγῶν. εἰ μὲν
τοίνυν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ταῦτα ἐγίγνωσκε, πολέμιος μὲν ἦν,
οὐ μέντοι πονηρός γ' ἂν δικαίως ἐνομίζετο· νῦν δὲ 28
αὐτὸς μὲν ἄρξας τῆς πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους πίστεως
καὶ φιλίας, αὐτὸς δὲ τῆς τοῦ δήμου καταλύσεως,
μάλιστα δὲ ἐξορμήσας ἡμᾶς τοῖς πρώτοις ὑπαγο-
μένοις εἰς ἡμᾶς δίκην ἐπιτιθέναι, νῦν ἐπεὶ καὶ ὑμεῖς
καὶ ἡμεῖς φανερῶς ἐχθροὶ τῷ δήμῳ γεγενήμεθα,
οὐκέτ' αὐτῷ τὰ γιγνόμενα ἀρέσκει, ὅπως αὐτὸς μὲν
αὖ ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ καταστῇ, ἡμεῖς δὲ δίκην δῶμεν
τῶν πεπραγμένων. ὥστε οὐ μόνον ὡς ἐχθρῷ αὐτῷ 29

προσήκει ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς προδότῃ ὑμῶν τε καὶ ἡμῶν
διδόναι τὴν δίκην. καίτοι τοσούτῳ μὲν δεινότερον
προδοσία πολέμου, ὅσῳ χαλεπώτερον φυλάξασθαι
τὸ ἀφανὲς τοῦ φανεροῦ, τοσούτῳ δʼ ἔχθιον, ὅσῳ
πολεμίοις μὲν ἄνθρωποι καὶ σπένδονται αὖθις καὶ
πιστοὶ γίγνονται, ὃν δὲ προδιδόντα λαμβάνωσι,
τούτῳ οὔτε ἐσπείσατο πώποτε οὐδεὶς οὔτʼ ἐπί-
30 στευσε τοῦ λοιποῦ. ἵνα δὲ εἰδῆτε ὅτι οὐ καινὰ
ταῦτα οὗτος ποιεῖ, ἀλλὰ φύσει προδότης ἐστίν,
ἀναμνήσω ὑμᾶς τὰ τούτῳ πεπραγμένα. οὗτος γὰρ
ἐξ ἀρχῆς μὲν τιμώμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου κατὰ τὸν
πατέρα Ἅγνωνα προπετέστατος ἐγένετο τὴν δημο-
κρατίαν μεταστῆσαι εἰς τοὺς τετρακοσίους, καὶ
ἐπρώτευεν ἐν ἐκείνοις. ἐπεὶ δʼ ᾔσθετο ἀντίπαλόν
τι τῇ ὀλιγαρχίᾳ συνιστάμενον, πρῶτος αὖ ἡγεμὼν
31 τῷ δήμῳ ἐπʼ ἐκείνους ἐγένετο· ὅθεν δήπου καὶ κό-
θορνος ἐπικαλεῖται [·καὶ γὰρ ὁ κόθορνος ἁρμόττειν
μὲν τοῖς ποσὶν ἀμφοτέροις δοκεῖ, ἀποβλέπει δʼ ἀπʼ
ἀμφοτέρων]. δεῖ δέ, ὦ Θηράμενες, ἄνδρα τὸν
ἄξιον ζῆν οὐ προάγειν μὲν δεινὸν εἶναι εἰς πράγ-
ματα τοὺς συνόντας, ἤν δέ τι ἀντικόπτῃ, εὐθὺς
μεταβάλλεσθαι, ἀλλʼ ὥσπερ ἐν νηὶ διαπονεῖσθαι,
ἕως ἂν εἰς οὖρον καταστῶσιν· εἰ δὲ μή, πῶς ἂν
ἀφίκοιντό ποτε ἔνθα δεῖ, εἰ ἐπειδάν τι ἀντικόψῃ,
32 εὐθὺς εἰς τἀναντία πλέοιεν; καὶ εἰσὶ μὲν δήπου
πᾶσαι μεταβολαὶ πολιτειῶν θανατηφόροι, σὺ δὲ
διὰ τὸ εὐμετάβολος εἶναι πλείστοις μὲν μεταίτιος
εἶ ἐξ ὀλιγαρχίας ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου ἀπολωλέναι, πλεί-
στοις δʼ ἐκ δημοκρατίας ὑπὸ τῶν βελτιόνων.
οὗτος δέ τοί ἐστιν ὃς καὶ ταχθεὶς ἀνελέσθαι ὑπὸ

τῶν στρατηγῶν τοὺς καταδύντας Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῇ περὶ Λέσβον ναυμαχίᾳ αὐτὸς οὐκ ἀνελόμενος ὅμως τῶν στρατηγῶν κατηγορῶν ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτούς, ἵνα αὐτὸς περισωθείη. ὅστις γε μὴν φανερός ἐστι τοῦ 33
μὲν πλεονεκτεῖν ἀεὶ ἐπιμελόμενος, τοῦ δὲ καλοῦ καὶ τῶν φίλων μηδὲν ἐντρεπόμενος, πῶς τούτου χρή ποτε φείσασθαι; πῶς δ' οὐ φυλάξασθαι, εἰδότας αὐτοῦ τὰς μεταβολάς, ὡς μὴ καὶ ἡμᾶς ταὐτὸ δυνασθῇ ποιῆσαι; ἡμεῖς οὖν τοῦτον ὑπάγομεν καὶ ὡς ἐπιβουλεύοντα καὶ ὡς προδιδόντα ἡμᾶς τε καὶ ὑμᾶς. ὡς δ' εἰκότα ποιοῦμεν, καὶ τάδ' ἐννοήσατε. καλλίστη μὲν γὰρ 34
δήπου δοκεῖ πολιτεία εἶναι ἡ Λακεδαιμονίων· εἰ δὲ ἐκεῖ ἐπιχειρήσειέ τις τῶν ἐφόρων ἀντὶ τοῦ τοῖς πλείοσι πείθεσθαι ψέγειν τε τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ἐναντιοῦσθαι τοῖς πραττομένοις, οὐκ ἂν οἴεσθε αὐτὸν καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἐφόρων καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἄλλης ἁπάσης πόλεως τῆς μεγίστης τιμωρίας ἀξιωθῆναι; καὶ ὑμεῖς οὖν, ἐὰν σωφρονῆτε, οὐ τούτου ἀλλ' ὑμῶν αὐτῶν φείσεσθε, ὡς οὗτος σωθεὶς μὲν πολλοὺς ἂν μέγα φρονεῖν ποιήσειε τῶν ἐναντία γιγνωσκόντων ὑμῖν, ἀπολόμενος δὲ πάντων καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ τῶν ἔξω ὑποτέμοι ἂν τὰς ἐλπίδας.

Ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐκαθέζετο· Θηραμένης δὲ 35
ἀναστὰς ἔλεξεν· Ἀλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν μνησθήσομαι, ὦ ἄνδρες, ὃ τελευταῖον κατ' ἐμοῦ εἶπε. φησὶ γάρ με τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἀποκτεῖναι κατηγοροῦντα. ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ ἦρχον δήπου κατ' ἐκείνων λόγου, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνοι ἔφασαν προσταχθέν μοι ὑφ' ἑαυτῶν οὐκ ἀνελέσθαι τοὺς δυστυχοῦντας ἐν τῇ περὶ Λέσβον ναυμαχίᾳ. ἐγὼ δὲ ἀπολογούμενος ὡς διὰ τὸν χει-

μῶνα οὐδὲ πλεῖν, μὴ ὅτι ἀναιρεῖσθαι τοὺς ἄνδρας
δυνατὸν ἦν, ἔδοξα τῇ πόλει εἰκότα λέγειν, ἐκεῖνοι
δὲ ἑαυτῶν κατηγορεῖν ἐφαίνοντο. φάσκοντες γὰρ
οἷόν τε εἶναι σῶσαι τοὺς ἄνδρας, προέμενοι αὐτοὺς
36 ἀπολέσθαι ἀποπλέοντες ᾤχοντο. οὐ μέντοι θαυ-
μάζω γε τὸ Κριτίαν παρανενομηκέναι· ὅτε γὰρ
ταῦτα ἦν, οὐ παρὼν ἐτύγχανεν, ἀλλ' ἐν Θετταλίᾳ
μετὰ Προμηθέως δημοκρατίαν κατεσκεύαζε καὶ τοὺς
37 πενέστας ὥπλιζεν ἐπὶ τοὺς δεσπότας. ὧν μὲν οὖν
οὗτος ἐκεῖ ἔπραττε μηδὲν ἐνθάδε γένοιτο· τάδε γε
μέντοι ὁμολογῶ ἐγὼ τούτῳ, εἴ τις ὑμᾶς μὲν τῆς
ἀρχῆς βούλεται παῦσαι, τοὺς δ' ἐπιβουλεύοντας
ὑμῖν ἰσχυροὺς ποιεῖ, δίκαιον εἶναι τῆς μεγίστης
αὐτὸν τιμωρίας τυγχάνειν· ὅστις μέντοι ὁ ταῦτα
πράττων ἐστὶν οἴομαι ἂν ὑμᾶς κάλλιστα κρίνειν,
τά τε πεπραγμένα καὶ ἃ νῦν πράττει ἕκαστος ἡμῶν
38 εἰ κατανοήσετε. οὐκοῦν μέχρι μὲν τοῦ ὑμᾶς τε
καταστῆναι εἰς τὴν βουλείαν καὶ ἀρχὰς ἀποδειχθῆ-
ναι καὶ τοὺς ὁμολογουμένως συκοφάντας ὑπάγεσθαι
πάντες ταὐτὰ ἐγιγνώσκομεν· ἐπεὶ δέ γε οὗτοι ἤρ-
ξαντο ἄνδρας καλούς τε κἀγαθοὺς συλλαμβάνειν,
ἐκ τούτου κἀγὼ ἠρξάμην τἀναντία τούτοις γιγνώ-
39 σκειν. ᾔδειν γὰρ ὅτι, ἀποθνήσκοντος μὲν Λέοντος
τοῦ Σαλαμινίου, ἀνδρὸς καὶ ὄντος καὶ δοκοῦντος
ἱκανοῦ εἶναι, ἀδικοῦντος δ' οὐδὲ ἕν, οἱ ὅμοιοι τούτῳ
φοβήσοιντο, φοβούμενοι δὲ ἐναντίοι τῇδε τῇ πολι-
τείᾳ ἔσοιντο. ἐγίγνωσκον δὲ ὅτι συλλαμβανομένου
Νικηράτου τοῦ Νικίου, καὶ πλουσίου καὶ οὐδὲν
πώποτε δημοτικὸν οὔτε αὐτοῦ οὔτε τοῦ πατρὸς
πράξαντος, οἱ τούτῳ ὅμοιοι δυσμενεῖς ἡμῖν γενή-

σοιντο. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ Ἀντιφῶντος ὑφ' ἡμῶν 40
ἀπολλυμένου, ὃς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ δύο τριήρεις εὖ
πλεούσας παρείχετο, ἠπιστάμην ὅτι καὶ οἱ πρό-
θυμοι τῇ πόλει γεγενημένοι πάντες ὑπόπτως ἡμῖν
ἕξοιεν. ἀντεῖπον δὲ καὶ ὅτε τῶν μετοίκων ἕνα
ἕκαστον λαβεῖν ἔφασαν χρῆναι· εὔδηλον γὰρ ἦν
ὅτι τούτων ἀπολομένων καὶ οἱ μέτοικοι ἅπαντες
πολέμιοι τῇ πολιτείᾳ ἔσοιντο. ἀντεῖπον δὲ καὶ 41
ὅτε τὰ ὅπλα τοῦ πλήθους παρῃροῦντο, οὐ νομίζων
χρῆναι ἀσθενῆ τὴν πόλιν ποιεῖν· οὐδὲ γὰρ τοὺς
Λακεδαιμονίους ἑώρων τούτου ἕνεκα βουλομένους
περισῶσαι ἡμᾶς, ὅπως ὀλίγοι γενόμενοι μηδὲν δυ-
ναίμεθα αὐτοὺς ὠφελεῖν· ἐξῆν γὰρ αὐτοῖς, εἰ τούτου
γε δέοιντο, καὶ μηδένα λιπεῖν ὀλίγον ἔτι χρόνον τῷ
λιμῷ πιέσαντας. οὐδέ γε τὸ φρουροὺς μισθοῦσθαι 42
συνήρεσκέ μοι, ἐξὸν αὐτῶν τῶν πολιτῶν τοσούτους
προσλαμβάνειν, ἕως ῥᾳδίως οἱ ἄρχοντες ἐμέλλομεν
τῶν ἀρχομένων κρατήσειν. ἐπεί γε μὴν πολλοὺς
ἑώρων ἐν τῇ πόλει τῇ ἀρχῇ τῇδε δυσμενεῖς, πολ-
λοὺς δὲ φυγάδας γιγνομένους, οὐκ αὖ ἐδόκει μοι
οὔτε Θρασύβουλον οὔτε Ἄνυτον οὔτε Ἀλκιβιάδην
φυγαδεύειν· ᾔδειν γὰρ ὅτι οὕτω γε τὸ ἀντίπαλον
ἰσχυρὸν ἔσοιτο, εἰ τῷ μὲν πλήθει ἡγεμόνες ἱκανοὶ
προσγενήσοιντο, τοῖς δ' ἡγεῖσθαι βουλομένοις σύμ-
μαχοι πολλοὶ φανήσοιντο. ὁ ταῦτα οὖν νουθετῶν 43
ἐν τῷ φανερῷ πότερα εὐμενὴς ἂν δικαίως ἢ προ-
δότης νομίζοιτο; οὐχ οἱ ἐχθρούς, ὦ Κριτία, κω-
λύοντες πολλοὺς ποιεῖσθαι, οὐδ' οἱ συμμάχους
πλείστους διδάσκοντες κτᾶσθαι, οὗτοι τοὺς πολε-
μίους ἰσχυροὺς ποιοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον οἱ

ἀδίκως τε χρήματα ἀφαιρούμενοι καὶ τοὺς οὐδὲν
ἀδικοῦντας ἀποκτείνοντες, οὗτοί εἰσιν οἳ καὶ πολ-
λοὺς τοὺς ἐναντίους ποιοῦντες καὶ προδιδόντες οὐ
μονον τοὺς φίλους ἀλλὰ καὶ ἑαυτοὺς δι' αἰσχρο-
44 κέρδειαν. εἰ δὲ μὴ ἄλλως γνωστὸν ὅτι ἀληθῆ
λέγω, ὧδε ἐπισκέψασθε. πότερον οἴεσθε Θρασύ-
βουλον καὶ Ἄνυτον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους φυγάδας ἃ
ἐγὼ λέγω μᾶλλον ἂν ἐνθάδε βούλεσθαι γίγνεσθαι
ἢ ἃ οὗτοι πράττουσιν; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οἶμαι νῦν μὲν
αὐτοὺς νομίζειν συμμάχων πάντα μεστὰ εἶναι· εἰ
δὲ τὸ κράτιστον τῆς πόλεως προσφιλῶς ἡμῖν εἶχε,
χαλεπὸν ἂν ἡγεῖσθαι εἶναι καὶ τὸ ἐπιβαίνειν ποι
45 τῆς χώρας. ἃ δ' αὖ εἶπεν ὡς ἐγώ εἰμι οἷος ἀεί
ποτε μεταβάλλεσθαι, κατανοήσατε καὶ ταῦτα. τὴν
μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν τετρακοσίων πολιτείαν καὶ αὐτὸς
δήπου ὁ δῆμος ἐψηφίσατο, διδασκόμενος ὡς οἱ
Λακεδαιμόνιοι πάσῃ πολιτείᾳ μᾶλλον ἂν ἢ δημο-
46 κρατίᾳ πιστεύσειαν. ἐπεὶ δέ γε ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὐδὲν
ἀνίεσαν, οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Ἀριστοτέλην καὶ Μελάνθιον
καὶ Ἀρίσταρχον στρατηγοῦντες φανεροὶ ἐγένοντο
ἐπὶ τῷ χώματι ἔρυμα τειχίζοντες, εἰς ὃ ἐβούλοντο
τοὺς πολεμίους δεξάμενοι ὑφ' αὑτοῖς καὶ τοῖς
ἑταίροις τὴν πόλιν ποιήσασθαι, εἰ ταῦτ' αἰσθό-
μενος ἐγὼ διεκώλυσα, τοῦτ' ἐστὶ προδότην εἶναι
47 τῶν φίλων; ἀποκαλεῖ δὲ κόθορνόν με, ὡς ἀμφο-
τέροις πειρώμενον ἁρμόττειν. ὅστις δὲ μηδετέροις
ἀρέσκει, τοῦτον ὦ πρὸς τῶν θεῶν τί ποτε καὶ
καλέσαι χρή; σὺ γὰρ δὴ ἐν μὲν τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ
πάντων μισοδημότατος ἐνομίζου, ἐν δὲ τῇ ἀριστο-
48 κρατίᾳ πάντων μισοχρηστότατος γεγένησαι. ἐγὼ

δ', ὦ Κριτία, ἐκείνοις μὲν ἀεί ποτε πολεμῶ τοῖς οὐ
πρόσθεν οἰομένοις καλὴν ἂν δημοκρατίαν εἶναι,
πρὶν καὶ οἱ δοῦλοι καὶ οἱ δι' ἀπορίαν δραχμῆς ἂν
ἀποδόμενοι τὴν πόλιν δραχμῆς μετέχοιεν, καὶ
τοῖσδέ γ' αὖ ἀεὶ ἐναντίος εἰμὶ οἳ οὐκ οἴονται καλὴν
ἂν ἐγγενέσθαι ὀλιγαρχίαν, πρὶν εἰς τὸ ὑπ' ὀλίγων
τυραννεῖσθαι τὴν πόλιν καταστήσειαν. τὸ μέντοι
σὺν τοῖς δυναμένοις καὶ μεθ' ἵππων καὶ μετ' ἀσπί-
δων ὠφελεῖν διὰ τούτων τὴν πολιτείαν πρόσθεν
ἄριστον ἡγούμην εἶναι καὶ νῦν οὐ μεταβάλλομαι.
εἰ δ' ἔχεις εἰπεῖν, ὦ Κριτία, ὅπου ἐγὼ σὺν τοῖς 49
δημοτικοῖς ἢ τυραννικοῖς τοὺς καλούς τε κἀγαθοὺς
ἀποστερεῖν πολιτείας ἐπεχείρησα, λέγε· ἐὰν γὰρ
ἐλεγχθῶ ἢ νῦν ταῦτα πράττων ἢ πρότερον πώ-
ποτε πεποιηκώς, ὁμολογῶ τὰ πάντων ἐσχατώτατα
παθὼν ἂν δικαίως ἀποθνήσκειν.
Ὡς δ' εἰπὼν ταῦτα ἐπαύσατο καὶ ἡ βουλὴ δήλη 50
ἐγένετο εὐμενῶς ἐπιθορυβήσασα, γνοὺς ὁ Κριτίας
ὅτι εἰ ἐπιτρέψοι τῇ βουλῇ διαψηφίζεσθαι περὶ
αὐτοῦ, ἀναφεύξοιτο, καὶ τοῦτο οὐ βιωτὸν ἡγησά-
μενος, προσελθὼν καὶ διαλεχθείς τι τοῖς τριάκοντα
ἐξῆλθε, καὶ ἐπιστῆναι ἐκέλευσε τοὺς τὰ ἐγχειρίδια
ἔχοντας φανερῶς τῇ βουλῇ ἐπὶ τοῖς δρυφάκτοις.
πάλιν δ' εἰσελθὼν εἶπεν· Ἐγώ, ὦ βουλή, νομίζω 51
προστάτου ἔργον εἶναι οἵου δεῖ, ὃς ἂν ὁρῶν τοὺς
φίλους ἐξαπατωμένους μὴ ἐπιτρέπῃ. καὶ ἐγὼ οὖν
τοῦτο ποιήσω. καὶ γὰρ οἵδε οἱ ἐφεστηκότες οὔ
φασιν ἡμῖν ἐπιτρέψειν, εἰ ἀνήσομεν ἄνδρα τὸν φα-
νερῶς τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν λυμαινόμενον. ἔστι δὲ ἐν τοῖς
καινοῖς νόμοις τῶν μὲν ἐν τοῖς τρισχιλίοις ὄντων

μηδένα ἀποθνήσκειν ἄνευ τῆς ὑμετέρας ψήφου, τῶν δ᾽ ἔξω τοῦ καταλόγου κυρίους εἶναι τοὺς τριάκοντα θανατοῦν. ἐγὼ οὖν, ἔφη, Θηραμένην τουτονὶ ἐξαλείφω ἐκ τοῦ καταλόγου, συνδοκοῦν ἅπασιν ἡμῖν.
52 καὶ τοῦτον, ἔφη, ἡμεῖς θανατοῦμεν. ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Θηραμένης ἀνεπήδησεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑστίαν καὶ εἶπεν, Ἐγὼ δ᾽, ἔφη, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἱκετεύω τὰ πάντων ἐννομώτατα, μὴ ἐπὶ Κριτίᾳ εἶναι ἐξαλείφειν μήτε ἐμὲ μήτε ὑμῶν ὃν ἂν βούληται, ἀλλ᾽ ὅνπερ νόμον οὗτοι ἔγραψαν περὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ καταλόγῳ, κατὰ τοῦτον
53 καὶ ὑμῖν καὶ ἐμοὶ τὴν κρίσιν εἶναι. καὶ τοῦτο μέν, ἔφη, μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς οὐκ ἀγνοῶ, ὅτι οὐδέν μοι ἀρκέσει ὅδε ὁ βωμός, ἀλλὰ βούλομαι καὶ τοῦτο ἐπιδεῖξαι, ὅτι οὗτοι οὐ μόνον εἰσὶ περὶ ἀνθρώπους ἀδικώτατοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ θεοὺς ἀσεβέστατοι. ὑμῶν μέντοι, ἔφη, ὦ ἄνδρες καλοὶ κἀγαθοί, θαυμάζω, εἰ μὴ βοηθήσετε ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ταῦτα γιγνώσκοντες ὅτι οὐδὲν τὸ ἐμὸν ὄνομα εὐεξαλειπτότερον ἢ τὸ ὑμῶν
54 ἑκάστου. ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἐκέλευσε μὲν ὁ τῶν τριάκοντα κῆρυξ τοὺς ἕνδεκα ἐπὶ τὸν Θηραμένην· ἐκεῖνοι δὲ εἰσελθόντες σὺν τοῖς ὑπηρέταις, ἡγουμένου αὐτῶν Σατύρου τοῦ θρασυτάτου τε καὶ ἀναιδεστάτου, εἶπε μὲν ὁ Κριτίας, Παραδίδομεν ὑμῖν, ἔφη, Θηραμένην τουτονὶ κατακεκριμένον κατὰ τὸν νόμον· ὑμεῖς δὲ λαβόντες καὶ ἀπαγαγόντες οἱ ἕνδεκα οὗ δεῖ τὰ ἐκ
55 τούτων πράττετε. ὡς δὲ ταῦτα εἶπεν, εἷλκε μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ ὁ Σάτυρος, εἷλκον δὲ οἱ ὑπηρέται. ὁ δὲ Θηραμένης ὥσπερ εἰκὸς καὶ θεοὺς ἐπεκαλεῖτο καὶ ἀνθρώπους καθορᾶν τὰ γιγνόμενα. ἡ δὲ βουλὴ ἡσυχίαν εἶχεν ὁρῶσα καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς δρυφάκτοις

ὁμοίους Σατύρῳ καὶ τὸ ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ βουλευτηρίου
πλῆρες τῶν φρουρῶν, καὶ οὐκ ἀγνοοῦντες ὅτι ἐγχειρ-
ίδια ἔχοντες παρῆσαν. οἱ δ' ἀπήγαγον τὸν ἄνδρα 56
διὰ τῆς ἀγορᾶς μάλα μεγάλῃ τῇ φωνῇ δηλοῦντα οἷα
ἔπασχε. λέγεται δ' ἓν ῥῆμα καὶ τοῦτο αὐτοῦ. ὡς
εἶπεν ὁ Σάτυρος ὅτι οἰμώξοιτο, εἰ μὴ σιωπήσειεν,
ἐπήρετο, Ἂν δὲ σιωπῶ, οὐκ ἄρ', ἔφη, οἰμώξομαι;
καὶ ἐπεί γε ἀποθνήσκειν ἀναγκαζόμενος τὸ κώνειον
ἔπιε, τὸ λειπόμενον ἔφασαν ἀποκοτταβίσαντα εἰπεῖν
αὐτόν· Κριτίᾳ τοῦτ' ἔστω τῷ καλῷ. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν
οὐκ ἀγνοῶ, ὅτι ταῦτα ἀποφθέγματα οὐκ ἀξιόλογα,
ἐκεῖνο δὲ κρίνω τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀγαστόν, τὸ τοῦ θανάτου
παρεστηκότος μήτε τὸ φρόνιμον μήτε τὸ παιγνιῶδες
ἀπολιπεῖν ἐκ τῆς ψυχῆς.

Θηραμένης μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἀπέθανεν· οἱ δὲ τριά- 4
κοντα, ὡς ἐξὸν ἤδη αὐτοῖς τυραννεῖν ἀδεῶς, προεῖπον
μὲν τοῖς ἔξω τοῦ καταλόγου μὴ εἰσιέναι εἰς τὸ ἄστυ,
ἦγον δὲ ἐκ τῶν χωρίων, ἵν' αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ φίλοι
τοὺς τούτων ἀγροὺς ἔχοιεν. φευγόντων δὲ εἰς τὸν
Πειραιᾶ καὶ ἐντεῦθεν πολλοὺς ἄγοντες ἐνέπλησαν
καὶ τὰ Μέγαρα καὶ τὰς Θήβας τῶν ὑποχωρούντων.

Ἐκ δὲ τούτου Θρασύβουλος ὁρμηθεὶς ἐκ Θηβῶν 2
ὡς σὺν ἑβδομήκοντα Φυλὴν χωρίον καταλαμβάνει
ἰσχυρόν. οἱ δὲ τριάκοντα ἐβοήθουν ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος
σύν τε τοῖς τρισχιλίοις καὶ σὺν τοῖς ἱππεῦσι καὶ
μάλ' εὐημερίας οὔσης. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο, εὐθὺς μὲν
θρασυνόμενοί τινες τῶν νέων προσέβαλον πρὸς τὸ
χωρίον καὶ ἐποίησαν μὲν οὐδέν, τραύματα δὲ λαβ-
όντες ἀπῆλθον. βουλομένων δὲ τῶν τριάκοντα 3
ἀποτειχίζειν, ὅπως ἐκπολιορκήσειαν αὐτοὺς ἀπο-

κλείσαντες τὰς ἐφόδους τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, ἐπιγίγνεται
τῆς νυκτὸς χιὼν παμπληθὴς καὶ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ. οἱ
δὲ νιφόμενοι ἀπῆλθον εἰς τὸ ἄστυ, μάλα συχνοὺς
τῶν σκευοφόρων ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκ Φυλῆς ἀποβαλόντες.
4 γιγνώσκοντες δὲ ὅτι καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν λεηλατή-
σοιεν, εἰ μή τις φυλακὴ ἔσοιτο, διαπέμπουσιν εἰς
τὰς ἐσχατιὰς ὅσον πεντεκαίδεκα στάδια ἀπὸ Φυλῆς
τούς τε Λακωνικοὺς πλὴν ὀλίγων φρουροὺς καὶ τῶν
ἱππέων δύο φυλάς. οὗτοι δὲ στρατοπεδευσάμενοι
5 ἐν χωρίῳ λασίῳ ἐφύλαττον. ὁ δὲ Θρασύβουλος,
ἤδη συνειλεγμένων εἰς τὴν Φυλὴν περὶ ἑπτακοσίους,
λαβὼν αὐτοὺς καταβαίνει τῆς νυκτός· θέμενος δὲ
τὰ ὅπλα ὅσον τρία ἢ τέτταρα στάδια ἀπὸ τῶν
φρουρῶν ἡσυχίαν εἶχεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ πρὸς ἡμέραν ἐγίγ-
6 νετο, καὶ ἤδη ἀνίσταντο ὅποι ἐδεῖτο ἕκαστος ἀπὸ
τῶν ὅπλων, καὶ οἱ ἱπποκόμοι ψήχοντες τοὺς ἵππους
ψόφον ἐποίουν, ἐν τούτῳ ἀναλαβόντες οἱ περὶ
Θρασύβουλον τὰ ὅπλα δρόμῳ προσέπιπτον· καὶ
ἔστι μὲν οὓς αὐτῶν κατέβαλον, πάντας δὲ τρεψά-
μενοι ἐδίωξαν ἓξ ἢ ἑπτὰ στάδια, καὶ ἀπέκτειναν
τῶν μὲν ὁπλιτῶν πλέον ἢ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν, τῶν
δὲ ἱππέων Νικόστρατόν τε τὸν καλὸν ἐπικαλού-
μενον, καὶ ἄλλους δὲ δύο, ἔτι καταλαβόντες ἐν ταῖς
7 εὐναῖς. ἐπαναχωρήσαντες δὲ καὶ τρόπαιον στη-
σάμενοι καὶ συσκευασάμενοι ὅπλα τε ὅσα ἔλαβον
καὶ σκεύη ἀπῆλθον ἐπὶ Φυλῆς. οἱ δὲ ἐξ ἄστεος
ἱππεῖς βοηθήσαντες τῶν μὲν πολεμίων οὐδένα ἔτι
εἶδον, προσμείναντες δέ, ἕως τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀνείλοντο
8 οἱ προσήκοντες, ἀνεχώρησαν εἰς ἄστυ. ἐκ δὲ τούτου
οἱ τριάκοντα, οὐκέτι νομίζοντες ἀσφαλῆ σφίσι τὰ

πράγματα, ἐβουλήθησαν Ἐλευσῖνα ἐξιδιώσασθαι,
ὥστε εἶναι σφίσι καταφυγήν, εἰ δεήσειε. καὶ παρ-
αγγείλαντες τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν ἦλθον εἰς Ἐλευσῖνα
Κριτίας τε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι τῶν τριάκοντα· ἐξέτασίν
τε ποιήσαντες ἐν τοῖς ἱππεῦσι, φάσκοντες εἰδέναι
βούλεσθαι πόσοι εἶεν καὶ πόσης φυλακῆς προσδεή-
σοιντο, ἐκέλευον ἀπογράφεσθαι πάντας· τὸν δ' ἀπο-
γραψάμενον ἀεὶ διὰ τῆς πυλίδος ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν
ἐξιέναι. ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ αἰγιαλῷ τοὺς μὲν ἱππέας ἔνθεν
καὶ ἔνθεν κατέστησαν, τὸν δ' ἐξιόντα ἀεὶ οἱ ὑπηρέ-
ται συνέδουν. ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντες συνειλημμένοι ἦσαν,
Λυσίμαχον τὸν ἵππαρχον ἐκέλευον ἀναγαγόντα
παραδοῦναι αὐτοὺς τοῖς ἕνδεκα. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ εἰς 9
τὸ Ὠιδεῖον παρεκάλεσαν τοὺς ἐν τῷ καταλόγῳ
ὁπλίτας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἱππέας. ἀναστὰς δὲ Κρι-
τίας ἔλεξεν, Ἡμεῖς, ἔφη, ὦ ἄνδρες, οὐδὲν ἧττον ὑμῖν
κατασκευάζομεν τὴν πολιτείαν ἢ ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς. δεῖ
οὖν ὑμᾶς, ὥσπερ καὶ τιμῶν μεθέξετε, οὕτω καὶ τῶν
κινδύνων μετέχειν. τῶν οὖν συνειλημμένων Ἐλευ-
σινίων καταψηφιστέον ἐστίν, ἵνα ταὐτὰ ἡμῖν καὶ
θαρρῆτε καὶ φοβῆσθε. δείξας δέ τι χωρίον, εἰς
τοῦτο ἐκέλευε φανερὰν φέρειν τὴν ψῆφον. οἱ δὲ 10
Λακωνικοὶ φρουροὶ ἐν τῷ ἡμίσει τοῦ Ὠιδείου ἐξω-
πλισμένοι ἦσαν· ἦν δὲ ταῦτα ἀρεστὰ καὶ τῶν
πολιτῶν ὅσοις τὸ πλεονεκτεῖν μόνον ἔμελεν.

Ἐκ δὲ τούτου λαβὼν ὁ Θρασύβουλος τοὺς ἀπὸ Φυλῆς περὶ χιλίους ἤδη συνειλεγμένους ἀφικνεῖται τῆς νυκτὸς εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ. οἱ δὲ τριάκοντα ἐπεὶ ᾔσθοντο ταῦτα, εὐθὺς ἐβοήθουν σύν τε τοῖς Λακωνικοῖς καὶ σὺν τοῖς ἱππεῦσι καὶ τοῖς ὁπλίταις.

ἔπειτα ἐχώρουν κατὰ τὴν εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ ἁμαξιτὸν
11 ἀναφέρουσαν. οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Φυλῆς ἔτι μὲν ἐπεχείρησαν μὴ ἀνιέναι αὐτούς, ἐπεὶ δὲ μέγας ὁ κύκλος ὢν πολλῆς φυλακῆς ἐδόκει δεῖσθαι οὔπω πολλοῖς οὖσι, συνεσπειράθησαν ἐπὶ τὴν Μουνυχίαν. οἱ δ' ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος εἰς τὴν Ἱπποδάμειον ἀγορὰν ἐλθόντες πρῶτον μὲν συνετάξαντο, ὥστε ἐμπλῆσαι τὴν ὁδόν, ἣ φέρει πρός τε τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Μουνυχίας Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ τὸ Βενδίδειον· καὶ ἐγένοντο βάθος οὐκ ἔλαττον ἢ ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα ἀσπίδων. οὕτω δὲ συντεταγμένοι
12 ἐχώρουν ἄνω. οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Φυλῆς ἀντενέπλησαν μὲν τὴν ὁδόν, βάθος δὲ οὐ πλέον ἢ εἰς δέκα ὁπλίτας ἐγένοντο. ἐτάχθησαν μέντοι ἐπ' αὐτοῖς πελτοφόροι τε καὶ ψιλοὶ ἀκοντισταί, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις οἱ πετροβόλοι. οὗτοι μέντοι συχνοὶ ἦσαν· καὶ γὰρ αὐτόθεν προσεγένοντο. ἐν ᾧ δὲ προσῄεσαν οἱ ἐναντίοι, Θρασύβουλος τοὺς μεθ' αὐτοῦ θέσθαι κελεύσας τὰς ἀσπίδας καὶ αὐτὸς θέμενος, τὰ δ' ἄλλα ὅπλα ἔχων,
13 κατὰ μέσον στὰς ἔλεξεν· Ἄνδρες πολῖται, τοὺς μὲν διδάξαι, τοὺς δὲ ἀναμνῆσαι ὑμῶν βούλομαι ὅτι εἰσὶ τῶν προσιόντων οἱ μὲν τὸ δεξιὸν ἔχοντες, οὓς ὑμεῖς ἡμέραν πέμπτην τρεψάμενοι ἐδιώξατε, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐωνύμου ἔσχατοι, οὗτοι δὴ οἱ τριάκοντα, οἳ ἡμᾶς καὶ πόλεως ἀπεστέρουν οὐδὲν ἀδικοῦντας καὶ οἰκιῶν ἐξήλαυνον καὶ τοὺς φιλτάτους τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀπεσημαίνοντο. ἀλλὰ νῦν τοι παραγεγένηνται οὗ οὗτοι μὲν οὔποτε ᾤοντο, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀεὶ εὐχόμεθα.
14 ἔχοντες γὰρ ὅπλα ἐναντίοι μὲν αὐτοῖς καθέσταμεν· οἱ δὲ θεοί, ὅτι ποτὲ καὶ δειπνοῦντες συνελαμβανόμεθα καὶ καθεύδοντες καὶ ἀγοράζοντες, οἱ δὲ καὶ

οὐχ ὅπως ἀδικοῦντες, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐπιδημοῦντες ἐφυγαδ-
ευόμεθα, νῦν φανερῶς ἡμῖν συμμαχοῦσι. καὶ γὰρ
ἐν εὐδίᾳ χειμῶνα ποιοῦσιν, ὅταν ἡμῖν συμφέρῃ, καὶ
ὅταν ἐγχειρῶμεν, πολλῶν ὄντων ἐναντίων ὀλίγοις
οὖσι τρόπαια ἵστασθαι διδόασι· καὶ νῦν δὲ κεκομί- 15
κασιν ἡμᾶς εἰς χωρίον, ἐν ᾧ οὗτοι μὲν οὔτε βάλλειν
οὔτε ἀκοντίζειν ὑπὲρ τῶν προτεταγμένων διὰ τὸ
πρὸς ὄρθιον ἰέναι δύναιντ' ἄν, ἡμεῖς δὲ εἰς τὸ κάτ-
αντες καὶ δόρατα ἀφιέντες καὶ ἀκόντια καὶ πέτρους
ἐξιξόμεθά τε αὐτῶν καὶ πολλοὺς κατατρώσομεν.
καὶ ᾤετο μὲν ἄν τις δεήσειν τοῖς γε πρωτοστάταις 16
ἐκ τοῦ ἴσου μάχεσθαι· νῦν δέ, ἂν ὑμεῖς, ὥσπερ
προσήκει, προθύμως ἀφιῆτε τὰ βέλη, ἁμαρτήσεται
μὲν οὐδεὶς ὧν γε μεστὴ ἡ ὁδός, φυλαττόμενοι δὲ
δραπετεύσουσιν ἀεὶ ὑπὸ ταῖς ἀσπίσιν· ὥστε ἐξέσται
ὥσπερ τυφλοὺς καὶ τύπτειν ὅπου ἂν βουλώμεθα
καὶ ἐναλλομένους ἀνατρέπειν. ἀλλ', ὦ ἄνδρες, οὕτω 17
χρὴ ποιεῖν ὅπως ἕκαστός τις ἑαυτῷ συνείσεται τῆς
νίκης αἰτιώτατος ὤν. αὕτη γὰρ ἡμῖν, ἂν θεὸς θέλῃ,
νῦν ἀποδώσει καὶ πατρίδα καὶ οἴκους καὶ ἐλευθερίαν
καὶ τιμὰς καὶ παῖδας, οἷς εἰσί, καὶ γυναῖκας. ὦ
μακάριοι δῆτα, οἳ ἂν ἡμῶν νικήσαντες ἐπίδωσι τὴν
πασῶν ἡδίστην ἡμέραν. εὐδαίμων δὲ καὶ ἄν τις
ἀποθάνῃ· μνημείου γὰρ οὐδεὶς οὕτω πλούσιος ὢν
καλοῦ τεύξεται. ἐξάρξω μὲν οὖν ἐγώ, ἡνίκ' ἂν
καιρὸς ᾖ, παιᾶνα· ὅταν δὲ τὸν Ἐνυάλιον παρακαλ-
έσωμεν, τότε πάντες ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἀνθ' ὧν ὑβρίσ-
θημεν τιμωρώμεθα τοὺς ἄνδρας.

Ταῦτα δ' εἰπὼν καὶ μεταστραφεὶς πρὸς τοὺς 18
ἐναντίους ἡσυχίαν εἶχε· καὶ γὰρ ὁ μάντις παρήγ-

γελλεν αὐτοῖς μὴ πρότερον ἐπιτίθεσθαι, πρὶν τῶν σφετέρων ἢ πέσοι τις ἢ τρωθείη· ἐπειδὰν μέντοι τοῦτο γένηται, ἡγησόμεθα μέν, ἔφη, ἡμεῖς, νίκη δ' ὑμῖν ἔσται ἑπομένοις, ἐμοὶ μέντοι θάνατος, ὥς γέ
19 μοι δοκεῖ. καὶ οὐκ ἐψεύσατο, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἀνέλαβον τὰ ὅπλα, αὐτὸς μὲν ὥσπερ ὑπὸ μοίρας τινὸς ἀγόμενος ἐκπηδήσας πρῶτος ἐμπεσὼν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀποθνήσκει, καὶ τέθαπται ἐν τῇ διαβάσει τοῦ Κηφισοῦ· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ἐνίκων καὶ κατεδίωξαν μέχρι τοῦ ὁμαλοῦ. ἀπέθανον δ' ἐνταῦθα τῶν μὲν τριάκοντα Κριτίας τε καὶ Ἱππόμαχος, τῶν δ' ἐν Πειραιεῖ δέκα ἀρχόντων Χαρμίδης ὁ Γλαύκωνος, τῶν δ' ἄλλων περὶ ἑβδομήκοντα. καὶ τὰ μὲν ὅπλα ἔλαβον, τοὺς δὲ χιτῶνας οὐδενὸς τῶν πολιτῶν ἐσκύλευσαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτο ἐγένετο καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ὑποσπόνδους ἀπεδίδοσαν, προσιόντες ἀλλήλοις
20 πολλοὶ διελέγοντο. Κλεόκριτος δὲ ὁ τῶν μυστῶν κῆρυξ, μάλ' εὔφωνος ὤν, κατασιωπησάμενος ἔλεξεν· Ἄνδρες πολῖται, τί ἡμᾶς ἐξελαύνετε; τί ἀποκτεῖναι βούλεσθε; ἡμεῖς γὰρ ὑμᾶς κακὸν μὲν οὐδὲν πώποτε ἐποιήσαμεν, μετεσχήκαμεν δὲ ὑμῖν καὶ ἱερῶν τῶν σεμνοτάτων καὶ θυσιῶν καὶ ἑορτῶν τῶν καλλίστων, καὶ συγχορευταὶ καὶ συμφοιτηταὶ γεγενήμεθα καὶ συστρατιῶται, καὶ πολλὰ μεθ' ὑμῶν κεκινδυνεύκαμεν καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν ὑπὲρ τῆς κοινῆς ἀμφοτέρων ἡμῶν σωτηρίας τε καὶ ἐλευθερίας.
21 πρὸς θεῶν πατρῴων καὶ μητρῴων καὶ συγγενείας καὶ κηδεστίας καὶ ἑταιρίας, πάντων γὰρ τούτων πολλοὶ κοινωνοῦμεν ἀλλήλοις, αἰδούμενοι καὶ θεοὺς καὶ ἀνθρώπους παύσασθε ἁμαρτάνοντες εἰς τὴν

πατρίδα, καὶ μὴ πείθεσθε τοῖς ἀνοσιωτάτοις τριάκοντα, οἳ ἰδίων κερδέων ἕνεκα ὀλίγου δεῖν πλείους ἀπεκτόνασιν Ἀθηναίων ἐν ὀκτὼ μησὶν ἢ πάντες Πελοποννήσιοι δέκα ἔτη πολεμοῦντες. ἐξὸν δ' 22
ἡμῖν ἐν εἰρήνῃ πολιτεύεσθαι, οὗτοι τὸν πάντων αἴσχιστόν τε καὶ χαλεπώτατον καὶ ἀνοσιώτατον καὶ ἔχθιστον καὶ θεοῖς καὶ ἀνθρώποις πόλεμον ἡμῖν πρὸς ἀλλήλους παρέχουσιν. ἀλλ' εὖ γε μέντοι ἐπίστασθε ὅτι καὶ τῶν νῦν ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἀποθανόντων οὐ μόνον ὑμεῖς ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἔστιν οὓς πολλὰ κατεδακρύσαμεν.

Ὁ μὲν τοιαῦτα ἔλεγεν· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἄρχοντες καὶ διὰ τὸ τοιαῦτα προσακούειν τοὺς μεθ' αὑτῶν ἀπήγαγον εἰς τὸ ἄστυ. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ οἱ μὲν τριάκοντα 23
πάνυ δὴ ταπεινοὶ καὶ ἔρημοι συνεκάθηντο ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ· τῶν δὲ τρισχιλίων ὅπου ἕκαστοι τεταγμένοι ἦσαν, πανταχοῦ διεφέροντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους. ὅσοι μὲν γὰρ ἐπεποιήκεσάν τι βιαιότερον καὶ ἐφοβοῦντο, ἐντόνως ἔλεγον ὡς οὐ χρείη καθυφίεσθαι τοῖς ἐν Πειραιεῖ. ὅσοι δὲ ἐπίστευον μηδὲν ἠδικηκέναι, αὐτοί τε ἀνελογίζοντο καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐδίδασκον ὡς οὐδὲν δέοιντο τούτων τῶν κακῶν, καὶ τοῖς τριάκοντα οὐκ ἔφασαν χρῆναι πείθεσθαι οὐδ' ἐπιτρέπειν ἀπολλύναι τὴν πόλιν. καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον ἐψηφίσαντο ἐκείνους μὲν καταπαῦσαι, ἄλλους δὲ ἑλέσθαι. καὶ εἵλοντο δέκα, ἕνα ἀπὸ φυλῆς. 24

A. C. 403. Καὶ οἱ μὲν τριάκοντα Ἐλευσῖνάδε ἀπῆλθον· οἱ δὲ δέκα τῶν ἐν ἄστει καὶ μάλα τεταραγμένων καὶ ἀπιστούντων ἀλλήλοις σὺν τοῖς ἱππάρχοις ἐπεμέλοντο. ἐξεκάθευδον δὲ καὶ

οἱ ἱππεῖς ἐν τῷ Ὠιδείῳ, τούς τε ἵππους καὶ τὰς
ἀσπίδας ἔχοντες, καὶ δι' ἀπιστίαν ἐφώδευον τὸ
μὲν ἀφ' ἑσπέρας σὺν ταῖς ἀσπίσι κατὰ τὰ τείχη,
τὸ δὲ πρὸς ὄρθρον σὺν τοῖς ἵπποις, ἀεὶ φοβούμενοι
μὴ ἐπεισπέσοιέν τινες αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς.
25 οἱ δὲ πολλοί τε ἤδη ὄντες καὶ παντοδαποὶ ὅπλα
ἐποιοῦντο, οἱ μὲν ξύλινα, οἱ δὲ οἰσύινα, καὶ ταῦτα
ἐλευκοῦντο. πρὶν δὲ ἡμέρας δέκα γενέσθαι, πιστὰ
δόντες, οἵτινες συμπολεμήσειαν, καὶ εἰ ξένοι εἶεν,
ἰσοτέλειαν ἔσεσθαι, ἐξῄεσαν πολλοὶ μὲν ὁπλῖται,
πολλοὶ δὲ γυμνῆτες· ἐγένοντο δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἱππεῖς
ὡσεὶ ἑβδομήκοντα· προνομὰς δὲ ποιούμενοι καὶ
λαμβάνοντες ξύλα καὶ ὀπώραν ἐκάθευδον πάλιν ἐν
26 Πειραιεῖ. τῶν δ' ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος ἄλλος μὲν οὐδεὶς
σὺν ὅπλοις ἐξῄει, οἱ δὲ ἱππεῖς ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ λῃστὰς
ἐχειροῦντο τῶν ἐκ Πειραιῶς, καὶ τὴν φάλαγγα
αὐτῶν ἐκακούργουν. περιέτυχον δὲ καὶ τῶν Αἰ-
ξωνέων τισὶν εἰς τοὺς αὑτῶν ἀγροὺς ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπιτή-
δεια πορευομένοις· καὶ τούτους Λυσίμαχος ὁ ἵπ-
παρχος ἀπέσφαξε πολλὰ λιτανεύοντας καὶ πολλῶν
27 χαλεπῶς φερόντων ἱππέων. ἀνταπέκτειναν δὲ καὶ
οἱ ἐν Πειραιεῖ τῶν ἱππέων ἐπ' ἀγροῦ λαβόντες
Καλλίστρατον φυλῆς Λεοντίδος. καὶ γὰρ ἤδη
μέγα ἐφρόνουν, ὥστε καὶ πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος τοῦ
ἄστεος προσέβαλλον. εἰ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο δεῖ εἰπεῖν
τοῦ μηχανοποιοῦ τοῦ ἐν τῷ ἄστει, ὃς ἐπεὶ ἔγνω
ὅτι κατὰ τὸν ἐκ Λυκείου δρόμον μέλλοιεν τὰς
μηχανὰς προσάγειν, τὰ ζεύγη ἐκέλευσε πάντα
ἁμαξιαίους λίθους ἄγειν καὶ καταβάλλειν ὅπου
ἕκαστος βούλοιτο τοῦ δρόμου. ὡς δὲ τοῦτο ἐγέν-

ετο, πολλὰ εἷς ἕκαστος τῶν λίθων πράγματα
παρεῖχε. πεμπόντων δὲ πρέσβεις εἰς Λακεδαίμονα 28
τῶν μὲν τριάκοντα ἐξ Ἐλευσῖνος, τῶν δ' ἐν τῷ
καταλόγῳ ἐξ ἄστεος, καὶ βοηθεῖν κελευόντων, ὡς
ἀφεστηκότος τοῦ δήμου ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων, Λύ-
σανδρος λογισάμενος ὅτι οἷόν τε εἴη ταχὺ ἐκπο-
λιορκῆσαι τοὺς ἐν τῷ Πειραιεῖ κατά τε γῆν καὶ
κατὰ θάλατταν, εἰ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀποκλεισθείη-
σαν, συνέπραξεν ἑκατόν τε τάλαντα αὐτοῖς δανει-
σθῆναι, καὶ αὐτὸν μὲν κατὰ γῆν ἁρμοστήν, Λίβυν
δὲ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ναυαρχοῦντα ἐκπεμφθῆναι. καὶ 29
ἐξελθὼν αὐτὸς μὲν Ἐλευσῖνάδε συνέλεγεν ὁπλίτας
πολλοὺς Πελοποννησίους· ὁ δὲ ναύαρχος κατὰ
θάλατταν ἐφύλαττεν ὅπως μηδὲν εἰσπλέοι αὐτοῖς
τῶν ἐπιτηδείων· ὥστε ταχὺ πάλιν ἐν ἀπορίᾳ ἦσαν
οἱ ἐν Πειραιεῖ, οἱ δ' ἐν τῷ ἄστει πάλιν αὖ μέγα
ἐφρόνουν ἐπὶ τῷ Λυσάνδρῳ. οὕτω δὲ προχωρούν-
των Παυσανίας ὁ βασιλεὺς φθονήσας Λυσάνδρῳ,
εἰ κατειργασμένος ταῦτα ἅμα μὲν εὐδοκιμήσοι, ἅμα
δὲ ἰδίας ποιήσοιτο τὰς Ἀθήνας, πείσας τῶν ἐφόρων
τρεῖς ἐξάγει φρουράν. συνείποντο δὲ καὶ οἱ σύμ- 30
μαχοι πάντες πλὴν Βοιωτῶν καὶ Κορινθίων·
οὗτοι δὲ ἔλεγον μὲν ὅτι οὐ νομίζοιεν εὐορκεῖν ἂν
στρατευόμενοι ἐπ' Ἀθηναίους μηδὲν παράσπονδον
ποιοῦντας· ἔπραττον δὲ ταῦτα, ὅτι ἐγίγνωσκον
Λακεδαιμονίους βουλομένους τὴν τῶν Ἀθηναίων
χώραν οἰκείαν καὶ πιστὴν ποιήσασθαι. ὁ δὲ Παυ-
σανίας ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο μὲν ἐν τῷ Ἁλιπέδῳ
καλουμένῳ πρὸς τῷ Πειραιεῖ δεξιὸν ἔχων κέρας,
Λύσανδρος δὲ σὺν τοῖς μισθοφόροις τὸ εὐώνυμον.

31 πέμπων δὲ πρέσβεις ὁ Παυσανίας πρὸς τοὺς ἐν
Πειραιεῖ ἐκέλευεν ἀπιέναι ἐπὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν· ἐπεὶ δ'
οὐκ ἐπείθοντο, προσέβαλλεν ὅσον ἀπὸ βοῆς ἕνεκεν,
ὅπως μὴ δῆλος εἴη εὐμενὴς αὐτοῖς ὤν. ἐπεὶ δ'
οὐδὲν ἀπὸ τῆς προσβολῆς πράξας ἀπῆλθε, τῇ
ὑστεραίᾳ λαβὼν τῶν μὲν Λακεδαιμονίων δύο μόρας,
τῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων ἱππέων τρεῖς φυλάς, παρῆλθεν
ἐπὶ τὸν κωφὸν λιμένα, σκοπῶν πῇ εὐαποτειχιστ-
32 ότατος εἴη ὁ Πειραιεύς. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπιόντος αὐτοῦ
προσέθεόν τινες καὶ πράγματα αὐτῷ παρεῖχον,
ἀχθεσθεὶς παρήγγειλε τοὺς μὲν ἱππέας ἐλᾶν εἰς
αὐτοὺς ἐνέντας, καὶ τὰ δέκα ἀφ' ἥβης συνέπεσθαι·
σὺν δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις αὐτὸς ἐπηκολούθει. καὶ ἀπέκ-
τειναν μὲν ἐγγὺς τριάκοντα τῶν ψιλῶν, τοὺς δ'
33 ἄλλους κατεδίωξαν πρὸς τὸ Πειραιοῖ θέατρον. ἐκεῖ
δὲ ἔτυχον ἐξοπλιζόμενοι οἵ τε πελτασταὶ πάντες
καὶ οἱ ὁπλῖται τῶν ἐκ Πειραιῶς. καὶ οἱ μὲν ψιλοὶ
εὐθὺς ἐκδραμόντες ἠκόντιζον, ἔβαλλον, ἐτόξευον,
ἐσφενδόνων· οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἐπεὶ αὐτῶν πολ-
λοὶ ἐτιτρώσκοντο, μάλα πιεζόμενοι ἀνεχώρουν ἐπὶ
πόδα· οἱ δ' ἐν τούτῳ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐπέκειντο.
ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἀποθνήσκει Χαίρων τε καὶ Θίβραχος,
ἄμφω πολεμάρχω, καὶ Λακράτης ὁ ὀλυμπιονίκης
καὶ ἄλλοι οἱ τεθαμμένοι Λακεδαιμονίων πρὸ τῶν
34 πυλῶν ἐν Κεραμεικῷ. ὁρῶν δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Θρασύ-
βουλος καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ὁπλῖται ἐβοήθουν καὶ ταχὺ
παρετάξαντο πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπ' ὀκτώ. ὁ δὲ Παυ-
σανίας μάλα πιεσθεὶς καὶ ἀναχωρήσας ὅσον στάδια
τέτταρα ἢ πέντε πρὸς λόφον τινὰ παρήγγειλε τοῖς
Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις συμμάχοις ἐπιχω-

*ῥεῖν πρὸς ἑαυτόν. ἐκεῖ δὲ συνταξάμενος παντελῶς
βαθεῖαν τὴν φάλαγγα ἦγεν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους.
οἱ δ' εἰς χεῖρας μὲν ἐδέξαντο, ἔπειτα δὲ οἱ μὲν
ἐξεώσθησαν εἰς τὸν ἐν ταῖς Ἁλαῖς πηλόν, οἱ δὲ
ἐνέκλιναν· καὶ ἀποθνήσκουσιν αὐτῶν ὡς πεντή-
κοντα καὶ ἑκατόν. ὁ δὲ Παυσανίας τρόπαιον στη-* 35
*σάμενος ἀνεχώρησε· καὶ οὐδ' ὣς ὠργίζετο αὐτοῖς,
ἀλλὰ λάθρᾳ πέμπων ἐδίδασκε τοὺς ἐν Πειραιεῖ
οἷα χρὴ λέγοντας πρέσβεις πέμπειν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν
καὶ τοὺς παρόντας ἐφόρους. οἱ δ' ἐπείθοντο. δι-
ίστη δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῷ ἄστει, καὶ ἐκέλευε πρὸς
σφᾶς προσιέναι ὡς πλείστους συλλεγομένους, λέγ-
οντας ὅτι οὐδὲν δέονται τοῖς ἐν τῷ Πειραιεῖ πολε-
μεῖν, ἀλλὰ διαλυθέντες κοινῇ ἀμφότεροι Λακεδαιμο-
νίοις φίλοι εἶναι. ἡδέως δὲ ταῦτα καὶ Ναυκλείδας* 36
*ἔφορος ὢν συνήκουεν· ὥσπερ γὰρ νομίζεται σὺν
βασιλεῖ δύο τῶν ἐφόρων συστρατεύεσθαι, καὶ τότε
παρῆν οὗτός τε καὶ ἄλλος, ἀμφότεροι τῆς μετὰ
Παυσανίου γνώμης ὄντες μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς μετὰ Λυ-
σάνδρου. διὰ ταῦτα οὖν καὶ εἰς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα
προθύμως ἔπεμπον τούς τ' ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς ἔχον-
τας τὰς πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους σπονδὰς καὶ τοὺς
ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν τῷ ἄστει ἰδιώτας, Κηφισοφῶντά τε
καὶ Μέλητον. ἐπεὶ μέντοι οὗτοι ᾤχοντο εἰς Λακε-* 37
*δαίμονα, ἔπεμπον δὴ καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ ἐκ τοῦ
ἄστεος λέγοντας ὅτι αὐτοὶ μὲν παραδιδόασι καὶ τὰ
τείχη ἃ ἔχουσι καὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς Λακεδαιμονίοις
χρῆσθαι ὅ, τι βούλονται· ἀξιοῦν δ' ἔφασαν καὶ
τοὺς ἐν Πειραιεῖ, εἰ φίλοι φασὶν εἶναι Λακεδαιμον-
ίοις, παραδιδόναι τόν τε Πειραιᾶ καὶ τὴν Μουνυ-*

38 χίαν. ἀκούσαντες δὲ πάντων αὐτῶν οἱ ἔφοροι καὶ
οἱ ἔκκλητοι ἐξέπεμψαν πεντεκαίδεκα ἄνδρας εἰς
τὰς Ἀθήνας, καὶ ἐπέταξαν σὺν Παυσανίᾳ διαλ-
λάξαι ὅπῃ δύναιντο κάλλιστα. οἱ δὲ διήλλαξαν
ἐφ᾽ ᾧτε εἰρήνην μὲν ἔχειν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἀπιέναι
δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἕκαστον πλὴν τῶν τριάκοντα καὶ
τῶν ἕνδεκα καὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ Πειραιεῖ ἀρξάντων δέκα.
εἰ δέ τινες φοβοῖντο τῶν ἐξ ἄστεος, ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς
39 Ἐλευσῖνα κατοικεῖν. τούτων δὲ περανθέντων Παυ-
σανίας μὲν διῆκε τὸ στράτευμα, οἱ δ᾽ ἐκ τοῦ Πει-
ραιῶς ἀνελθόντες σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν
40 ἔθυσαν τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ. ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέβησαν οἱ στρατη-
γοί, ἔνθα δὴ ὁ Θρασύβουλος ἔλεξεν, Ὑμῖν, ἔφη, ὦ
ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος ἄνδρες, συμβουλεύω ἐγὼ γνῶναι
ὑμᾶς αὐτούς. μάλιστα δ᾽ ἂν γνοίητε, εἰ ἀναλογ-
ίσαισθε ἐπὶ τίνι ὑμῖν μέγα φρονητέον ἐστίν, ὥστε
ἡμῶν ἄρχειν ἐπιχειρεῖν. πότερον δικαιότεροί ἐστε;
ἀλλ᾽ ὁ μὲν δῆμος πενέστερος ὑμῶν ὢν οὐδὲν
πώποτε ἕνεκα χρημάτων ὑμᾶς ἠδίκηκεν· ὑμεῖς δὲ
πλουσιώτεροι πάντων ὄντες πολλὰ καὶ αἰσχρὰ
ἕνεκα κερδέων πεποιήκατε. ἐπεὶ δὲ δικαιοσύνης
οὐδὲν ὑμῖν προσήκει, σκέψασθε εἰ ἄρα ἐπ᾽ ἀνδρείᾳ
41 ὑμῖν μέγα φρονητέον. καὶ τίς ἂν καλλίων κρίσις
τούτου γένοιτο ἢ ὡς ἐπολεμήσαμεν πρὸς ἀλλήλους;
ἀλλὰ γνώμῃ φαίητ᾽ ἂν προέχειν, οἳ ἔχοντες καὶ
τεῖχος καὶ ὅπλα καὶ χρήματα καὶ συμμάχους Πε-
λοποννησίους ὑπὸ τῶν οὐδὲν τούτων ἐχόντων
παρελύθητε; ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις δὴ οἴεσθε
μέγα φρονητέον εἶναι; πῶς, οἵγε ὥσπερ τοὺς δάκ-
νοντας κύνας κλοιῷ δήσαντες παραδιδόασιν, οὕτω

κἀκεῖνοι ὑμᾶς παραδόντες τῷ ἠδικημένῳ τούτῳ δήμῳ οἴχονται ἀπιόντες; οὐ μέντοι γε ὑμᾶς, ὦ 42
ἄνδρες, ἀξιῶ ἐγὼ ὧν ὀμωμόκατε παραβῆναι οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις καλοῖς ἐπιδεῖξαι, ὅτι καὶ εὔορκοι καὶ ὅσιοί ἐστε. εἰπὼν δὲ ταῦτα καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα καὶ ὅτι οὐδὲν δέοι ταράττεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τοῖς νόμοις τοῖς ἀρχαίοις χρῆσθαι, ἀνέστησε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. καὶ τότε μὲν ἀρχὰς καταστησά- 43
μενοι ἐπολιτεύοντο· ὑστέρῳ δὲ χρόνῳ ἀκούσαντες ξένους μισθοῦσθαι τοὺς Ἐλευσῖνι, στρατευσάμενοι πανδημεὶ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τοὺς μὲν στρατηγοὺς αὐτῶν εἰς λόγους ἐλθόντας ἀπέκτειναν, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις εἰσπέμψαντες τοὺς φίλους καὶ ἀναγκαίους ἔπεισαν συναλλαγῆναι· καὶ ὀμόσαντες ὅρκους ἦ μὴν μὴ μνησικακήσειν ἔτι καὶ νῦν ὁμοῦ τε πολιτεύονται καὶ τοῖς ὅρκοις ἐμμένει ὁ δῆμος.

# NOTES.

## BOOK I.

P. 7. c. I. § 1. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα] This is a general formula used (especially in Xenophon) in connecting one part of a subject with that which has preceded. Ταῦτα does not appear to be intended to refer to any particular fact, such as the sacrifice of Tissaphernes at Ephesus, with the mention of which the history of Thucydides concludes (VIII. 109).

ἦλθεν] into the Hellespont, to the Athenian fleet at Sestus.

Θυμοχάρης] Thymochares had followed the Peloponnesian fleet to Eubœa (Thuc. VIII. 95. 2), and had been defeated by Agesandridas.

ἔχων] "with." Cp. the use of ἀναλαβών, II. 2. 8; Thuc. V. 7. 2 ἀναλαβὼν ἦγε. So ἄγων, φέρων. Jelf, § 698. f. *Obs.* 2.

Ἀγησανδρίδου] Agesandridas, son of Agesander, had commanded the Peloponnesian fleet against Eubœa (Thuc. VIII. 91. 2), and surprised Athens on his way (*id.* VIII. 94. 1, 2).

§ 2. μετ' ὀλίγον δὲ τούτων] equivalent to μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὀλίγῳ ὕστερον. The genitive τούτων arises from the notion of comparison. Herodotus gives us τρίτῳ ἔτεϊ τούτων, δευτέρῳ ἔτεϊ τούτων (VI. 40; VII. 80). Jelf, § 532.

Δωριεὺς] Dorieus, a Rhodian, twice victor at Olympia (Thuc. III. 8. 1), had taken refuge at Thurii, and commanded ten Thurian ships (*id.* VIII. 35. 1).

ἀρχομένου χειμῶνος] *i. e.* about the beginning of October.

ἡμεροσκόπος] "day-watcher." These are opposed to the signalmen who gave alarm by beacon-fires (φρυκτωροί). We find the Greeks posting them on the headlands of Eubœa (περὶ τὰ ὑψηλὰ τῆς Εὐβοίης) to keep their look-out (Hdt. VII. 182). Cp. *Hell.* VII. 2. 6 τοὺς ἡμεροφύλακας.

ἀνεβίβαζε] "drew ashore," on the Rhœtean promontory.

ὡς ἤνοιγε] "as he was making the open sea." Cp. 5. 13; 6. 21. Note the less regular form ἤνοιγε, used exclusively in nautical terms. Contrast *Anab.* v. 5. 20 ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἀνέῳγον τὰς πύλας.

§ 3. Μάδυτον] The beach between Sestus and Madytus had been the connecting point of the bridge of Xerxes with Abydus (Hdt. VII. 33).

§ 4. Μίνδαρος] Mindarus had superseded Astyochus as high-admiral (ναύαρχος) of the Lacedæmonian fleet (Thuc. VIII. 85. 1).

**P. 8.** ἀναλάβοι] "rescue."

§ 5. ᾐόνα] a poetical word, used also by Herodotus and the tragedians. Cp. ἠλίβατοι (*Anab.* I. 4. 4), ἔτρεσεν (I. 9. 6), ἐπέπατο (I. 9. 19), ἐσίνοντο (III. 4. 16), ἀναχάζειν (IV. 1. 16), θαμινά (IV. 1. 16), μόλωσιν (VII. 1. 33).

μέχρι δείλης ἐξ ἑωθινοῦ] The word δείλη (δείλη πρωΐα and ὀψία, cp. Thuc. III. 74. 2 περὶ δείλην ὀψίαν) was used both for the early afternoon, and the late afternoon or evening. Cp. *Hell.* IV. 1. 22 ἅμα δείλῃ καλλιερησάμενος κατέλυσε τὴν θυσίαν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου δειπνήσαντας παρήγγειλε παρεῖναι πρόσθεν τοῦ στρατοπέδου, where we see that the δείλη there mentioned came on before the δεῖπνον which usually took place about sunset. For the expression ἐξ ἑωθινοῦ, cp. Arist. *Thesm.* 2.

ἐπεισπλεῖ] "sails up into the straits," from Samos, whither (Thuc. VIII. 108. 2) he had returned at the beginning of September (πρὸς τὸ μετόπωρον) after having exacted large contributions from Halicarnassus, fortified Cos, and planted in it an Athenian officer.

§ 6. ἐπεισβαίνων ..ἐμάχετο] Pharnabazus reminds Agesilaus and the Lacedæmonians of this: *Hell.* IV. 1. 32 ἐν δὲ τῇ γῇ αὐτὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου μαχόμενος μεθ' ὑμῶν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν κατεδίωκον τοὺς πολεμίους.

§ 7. συμφράξαντες τὰς ναῦς καὶ παραταξάμενοι] "having closed up their ships and ranged them in line." Τὰς ναῦς seems to apply to παραταξάμενοι as well as συμφράξαντες. Cp. Thuc. I. 52. 2 παραταξάμενοι μετεώρους (τὰς ναῦς). Thuc. I. 29. 3. we find ἀντaναγόμενοι καὶ παραταξάμενοι, where we must understand τὰς ναῦς or ἑαυτούς.

§ 8. ᾤχοντο] Xenophon (cp. 1. 18; 3. 8; II. 1. 26) appears not to observe the idiomatic usage of this verb according to which, as in ἥκω, the present is used in a perfect, and the imperfect in a pluperfect sense. Homer uses the imperfect

of *οἴχομαι* in its proper sense: *Il.* v. 495, 6 *πάλλων δ' ὀξέα δοῦρα κατὰ στρατὸν ᾤχετο* (was going) *πάντη, Ὀτρύνων μαχέσασθαι, ἔγειρε δὲ φύλοπιν αἰνήν.* Thucydides uses it as an Aorist: I. 90. 4 *Θεμιστοκλῆς ταῦτα διδάξας ᾤχετο.* Jelf, § 396. 1. *Obs.* 1, 2.

*Θρασύλος*] This is the reading of all the Manuscripts, not *Θράσυλλος*. Thuc. v. 59. 5, the reading varies between *Θράσυλλος* and *Θράσυλος*.

§ 9. *ἦλθεν εἰς Ἑλλήσποντον*] from Ephesus, where he had offered sacrifice to Diana (Thuc. VIII. 109).

*ξένιά τε καὶ δῶρα*] *Ξένια* include chiefly meat and drink: Æsch. *Ag.* 1590—3 *ξένια...παρέσχε δαῖτα παιδείων κρεῶν. Hell.* VII. 2. 3 *ἄλλως τε ἐτίμων αὐτοὺς καὶ βοῦν ξένια ἔπεμψαν.* It seems especially used of presents sent by peaceful inhabitants to an army: *Anab.* IV. 8. 23 *καὶ ἐδέξαντό τε τοὺς Ἕλληνας καὶ ξένια ἔδοσαν βοῦς καὶ ἄλφιτα καὶ οἶνον.* Schneider remarks with justice that *ξένια* are usually presented *by* not *to* the host.

*φάσκων κ.τ.λ.*] The real fact was that Tissaphernes wished to reconcile himself, if possible, to the Peloponnesians, *διαβεβλῆσθαι νομίσας αὐτοῖς σφόδρα* (Thuc. VIII. 109).

*βασιλέα*] When applied to the Persian king, the article was omitted with *βασιλεύς*, as if it were a proper name. Cp. Hdt. VII. 174 *βασιλέος τε* (Xerxes) *μέλλοντος διαβαίνειν ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης.* Arist. *Ach.* 61 *οἱ πρέσβεις οἱ παρὰ βασιλέως.* Contrast *τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως*, 2. 19. *ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεύς*, *Hell.* III. 4. 25.

§ 10. *Ἀλκιβιάδης...μετὰ Μαντιθέου...ἀπέδρασαν*] Cp. Thuc. III. 109. 2 *Δημοσθένης μετὰ τῶν ξυστρατηγῶν σπένδονται.* Jelf, § 393. 2. *Obs.* 3.

P. 9. § 11. *Κύζικον*] The Athenians had attacked and recovered Cyzicus which had revolted: Thuc. VIII. 107 *ἀφικόμενοι δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Κύζικον ἀτείχιστον οὖσαν προσηγάγοντο πάλιν, καὶ χρήματα ἀνέπραξαν.* It was a colony from Miletus.

*περιπλεῖν ἐκεῖσε*] sc. to sail round the Mastusian promontory from Cardia to Sestus.

§ 13. *διώκειν αὐτὸν*] "to follow him (i.e. Alcibiades)." Cp. *Hipparch.* IV. 5 *ὡς μὴ κατακόπτωσι τοὺς ἵππους οἱ τελευταῖοι τὸν ἡγεμόνα διώκοντες.* It seems hardly probable that *αὐτὸν* refers to Mindarus (§ 11).

*ἐξελομένοις τὰ μεγάλα ἱστία*] sc. that the ships might be free and unencumbered for a sea-fight. Cp. *Hell.* VI. 2. 27 *ἅμα δὲ πάντα ὅσα εἰς ναυμαχίαν παρεσκευάζετο* (*ὁ Ἰφικράτης*)·

*εὐθὺς μὲν γὰρ τὰ μεγάλα ἱστία αὐτοῦ κατέλιπεν, ὡς ἐπὶ ναυμαχίαν πλέων.* Similarly Lysander had left *τὰ μεγάλα ἱστία* at Cape Abarnis (II. 1. 29) before the battle of Aegospotami, which Conon took away, so as to lessen the enemy's powers of pursuit. Probably the two sails belonging to the mainmast were called *ἱστία μεγάλα*, those of the foremast *ἱστία ἀκάτεια* or *ἀκάτια*. Cp. Thuc. VIII. 28. 1 *ἐβούλοντο (οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι) πλεύσαι ἐπὶ τὰ σκεύη ἃ ἐξείλοντο ἐς Τειχιοῦσσαν πόλιν* (*i.e.* the sails, &c. which had been left on shore in expectation of going into action).

*περὶ ἀρίστου ὥραν*] "Suidas places the *ἄριστον* as *περὶ ὥραν τρίτην*. This at the equinoxes would be about nine o'clock. But we have various reasons for distrusting this account. The *ἄριστον* must be fixed nearer noon. It would appear to have been the midday meal, answering to the Roman '*prandium*.' Cp. Xen. *Œcon.* XI. 14—18." Becker, *Char.* pp. 312, 3. Cp. note, 6. 21.

§ 14. *τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ*] Herodotus (VIII. 22) gives us the full expression: *τὰ Ἴωνες ἐπελθόντες τῇ ὑστεραίῃ ἡμέρῃ ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον ἐπελέξαντο.* So *τῇ προτεραίᾳ (ἡμέρᾳ)* "on the day before," Lat. "*pridie.*"

*αὐτοῖς*] his men.

§ 15. *ὡρμίσαντο*] Ὁρμεῖν, "be at anchor;" *ὁρμίζειν*, "bring a ship to anchor (as a pilot);" *ὁρμίζεσθαι*, "bring oneself to anchor."

*τὰ μικρὰ*] "small craft."

§ 16. *ὕοντος πολλῷ*] sc. *τοῦ Διός*. Cp. note, 6. 28. For *πολλῷ* (sc. *ὑετῷ*) cp. Hdt. I. 193 *ἡ δὲ γῆ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων ὕεται μὲν ὀλίγῳ.*

*γυμναζομένας*] "exercising, practising manœuvres."

*ἀπειλημμένας ὑπ' αὐτοῦ*] "cut off by himself from the port." There is another reading *ἀπ' αὐτοῦ* (sc. *τοῦ λιμένος*).

P. 10. § 18. *ταῖς εἴκοσι τῶν νεῶν*] "The use of the Article with adjectives of number is one of the remarkable peculiarities of the Greek language." Arnold. The article is used here with a part of the whole number, where no *definite* mention has been made of the other part. Cp. Thuc. I. 116. 1; VIII. 39. 3. Cp. also *infr.* 6. 26 *ταῖς δὲ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν ἀναχθείς.* Jelf, § 455. 1.

*τῶν Συρακοσίων*] "those of the Syracusans." We learn from Thuc. VIII. 26 that twenty Syracusan ships sailed from Sicily to assist the Peloponnesians against Athens at the instigation of Hermocrates.

§ 21. Πέρινθον καὶ Σηλυβρίαν] Herodotus (VI. 33) includes these in his list of towns on the Chersonese: Χερσόνησός τε ἐν τῇ πόλιες συχναὶ ἔνεισι, καὶ Πέρινθος, καὶ τὰ τείχεα τὰ ἐπὶ Θρηΐκης, καὶ Σηλυβρίη τε καὶ Βυζάντιον. Perinthus was colonized from Samos, and afterwards called Heraclea.

§ 22. Χρυσόπολιν] the modern *Scutari*. Strabo (XII. 4) calls it κώμη (an unwalled country-town).

τὴν δεκάτην] Cp. Polyb. IV. 44. 4 ἣν Ἀθηναῖοί ποτε κατασχόντες (Χρυσόπολιν), Ἀλκιβιάδου γνώμῃ παραγωγιάζειν (demand a transit duty from) ἐπεβάλοντο πρῶτον τοὺς εἰς Πόντον πλέοντας.

ἐπιμελεῖσθαι] Cp. note, II. 3. 13.

§ 23. ἐπιστολέως] "vice-admiral." This officer was second in command in the Spartan fleet, and succeeded to the command if anything happened to the high-admiral (ναύαρχος). Cp. II. 1. 7.

P. 11. γράμματα] This despatch would be written in the hard Doric dialect, which was spoken in Laconia, Crete, Cyrene, and Magna Græcia. The soft was spoken in Sicily, Messene, Argolis, Megara, and the islands near Asia Minor; and was used by Theocritus, Epicharmus, and Sophron. The principal characteristics of the dialect are breadth and openness, and dislike of sibilant forms: cp. Theocr. *Id.* 15. 88 ἐκκναισεῦντι πλατειάσδοισαι ἅπαντα.

ἑάλωσαν εἰς Ἀθήνας] Cp. Plat. *Rep.* V. 468 A τὸν δὲ ζῶντα εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους ἁλόντα. Cp. note, II. 3. 54. *Anab.* I. 2. 2 παρῆσαν εἰς Σάρδεις. The idea of previous motion is implied. Jelf, § 646. 1. For the plural verb, cp. note II. 3. 8.

ἔρρει...δρῆν] Compare, for the true Laconic brevity of the despatch, Thuc. IV. 17. 2: ἐπιχώριον ὂν ἡμῖν οὗ μὲν βραχεῖς (λόγοι) ἀρκῶσι μὴ πολλοῖς χρῆσθαι. Herodotus (III. 46) gives us a very amusing anecdote illustrating Spartan taciturnity.

τὰ καλά] "our prosperity." This seems to suit ἔρρει, as an abstract idea, better than τὰ κᾶλα, "timbers" *i.e.* "ships," for which cp. Arist. *Lysistr.* 1253. So Sophocles (*Œd. Tyr.* 910) ἔρρει δὲ τὰ θεῖα. Xen. *Symp.* 1. 15 ἔρρει τὰ ἐμὰ πράγματα (cp. Lat. *actum est*). Τὰ καλά is the Manuscript reading. It may be as well to remark here that Hickie in his otherwise thorough and painstaking edition of Book I. gives ἔρρει as the imp. of ῥέω, to flow.

ἀπέσσυα] sc. ἀπεσσύθη.

πεινῶντι] contracted from πεινάοντι; Attic πεινάουσι, πεινῶσι. Cp., for the termination, Lat. *amant*. So in the treaty between Lacedæmon and Argos (Thuc. V. 77) we find εἴκωντι, ἔχοντι, ἐντι.

*ἀπορίομες*] The old termination *-μες* here is parallel to the Latin *-mus*. Cp. the Megarian's *διαπεινᾶμες, ἴκομες*, Arist. *Ach.* 750, 1.

§ 24. *ἕνεκα ξύλων*] "as far as timber was concerned." Cp. II. 1. 14. Brasidas (Thuc. IV. 11. 4) uses the same word contemptuously: *ἐβόα λέγων ὡς οὐκ εἰκὸς εἴη ξύλων φειδομένους τοὺς πολεμίους ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ περιιδεῖν τεῖχος πεποιημένους.* Compare the speech of Mardonius, Hdt. VIII. 100: *οὐ γὰρ ξύλων ἀγὼν ὁ τὸ πᾶν φέρων ἐστὶ ἡμῖν, ἀλλ' ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ ἵππων.*

*τῇ βασιλέως*] sc. *χώρᾳ*. Cp. Thuc. VIII. 84. 5 *ἐν τῇ βασιλέως*. We have the full expression *τὴν βασιλέως χώραν*, 2. 17.

§ 25. *Ἀντάνδρῳ*] Cp. Thuc. IV. 52. 3 *καὶ πάντων μάλιστα τὴν Ἄντανδρον, καὶ κρατυνάμενοι αὐτὴν (ναῦς τε γὰρ εὐπορία ἦν ποιεῖσθαι αὐτόθεν, ξύλων ὑπαρχόντων καὶ τῆς Ἴδης ἐπικειμένης)*...Virg. *Æn.* III. 5, 6 *classemque sub ipsa Antandro et Phrygiæ molimur montibus Idæ.* Cp. also II. 1. 10.

§ 26. *ναυπηγουμένων*] sc. *τῶν Πελοποννησίων.*

*εὐεργεσία*] Xerxes in correspondence with Pausanias (Thuc. I. 129. 2) says *κεῖταί σοι εὐεργεσία* (*title of εὐεργέτης*) *ἐν τῷ ἡμετέρῳ οἴκῳ εἰσαεὶ ἀνάγραπτος.* Themistocles writes to Artaxerxes (*id.* I. 137. 7) *καί μοι εὐεργεσία ὀφείλεται.* Cp. Hdt. VIII. 85. Xenophon shows (*de Vect.* III. 11) that the name and rights of an *εὐεργέτης* were eagerly sought by leading men in other states, when conferred by the people of Athens: *οἶμαι δὲ ἔγωγε, εἰ μέλλοιεν ἀναγραφήσεσθαι εὐεργέται εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον, καὶ ξένους ἂν πολλοὺς εἰσενεγκεῖν, ἔστι δὲ ἃς ἂν καὶ πόλεις τῆς ἀναγραφῆς ὀρεγομένας.* The privileges of these *public benefactors* included public maintenance in the Prytaneum: Dem. *F. L.* 446 *δοίητ' ἂν ἐν πρυτανείῳ σίτησιν ἢ ἄλλην τινὰ δωρεάν, αἷς τιμᾶτε τοὺς εὐεργέτας*; Socrates, towards the close of his defence (Plat. *Apol.* 36 D, E), claims this privilege at the hands of the Athenians: *τί οὖν πρέπει ἀνδρὶ πένητι εὐεργέτῃ;... ὁ μὲν γὰρ (ὁ Ὀλυμπιάσι νενικηκὼς) ὑμᾶς ποιεῖ εὐδαίμονας δοκεῖν εἶναι, ἐγὼ δὲ εἶναι· καὶ ὁ μὲν τροφῆς οὐδὲν δεῖται, ἐγὼ δὲ δέομαι. εἰ οὖν δεῖ με κατὰ τὸ δίκαιον τῆς ἀξίας τιμᾶσθαι, τούτου τιμῶμαι, ἐν πρυτανείῳ σιτήσεως.*

*Καλχηδόνα*] a Megarian colony.

§ 27. *Ἑρμοκράτους*] son of Hermon, whom we are first acquainted with (Thuc. IV. 58—64) as urging the Siceliots to peace with each other in the face of the impending Athenian invasion. He is described by Thucydides (VI. 72. 2) as *ἀνὴρ καὶ ἐς τἆλλα ξύνεσιν οὐδενὸς λειπόμενος, καὶ κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἐμπειρίᾳ τε ἱκανὸς γενόμενος καὶ ἀνδρίᾳ ἐπιφανής.*

*προηγοροῦντος*] "acting as spokesman." Cp. II. 2. 22; *Anab.* V. 5 *προηγορεῖ δὲ Ἑκατώνυμος δεινὸς νομιζόμενος λέγειν.*

*ἀγαθοὺς πρὸς τὰ ἀεὶ παραγγελλόμενα*] "brave in following out each successive order." Archidamus insists upon this point: Thuc. II. 11. 10 *καὶ τὰ παραγγελλόμενα ὀξέως δεχόμενοι*. Cp. *id.* I. 121. 2.

*μεμνημένους...ὑπάρχουσαν*] As to the position of this clause, Schneider's observation appears to me satisfactory: "*non inficior, Hell.* v. 2. 20, *διδόναι λόγον τινὶ significare dicendi potestatem alicui facere: sed ea notio locum non habet, ubi accusandi mentio præcedit.*" *Διδόναι λόγον* (§ 28) = "give an account," "answer for," "*rationem reddere.*" For the transition from indirect to direct narration, cp. *Hell.* IV. 1. 13 *τέλος δὲ λέγει Σπιθριδάτης πᾶν ποιεῖν ἂν ἡδέως ὅ τι σοι δοκοίη*. *Anab.* I. 3. 14 *πέμψαι δὲ καὶ προκαταληψομένους τὰ ἄκρα, ὅπως μὴ φθάσωσι μήτε Κῦρος μήτε οἱ Κίλικες καταλαβόντες, ὧν πολλοὺς καὶ πολλὰ χρήματα ἔχομεν ἀνηρπακότες.* *Infr.* II. 1. 25.

P. 12. *ἀντ' ἐκείνων*] sc. *ἀνθ' ἑαυτῶν*. Cp. 6. 14 *οὐκ ἔφη ἑαυτοῦ γε ἄρχοντος...εἰς τὸ ἐκείνου δυνατόν*. *Memor.* I. 2. 3 *ἐποίει τοὺς συνδιατρίβοντας ἑαυτῷ μιμουμένους ἐκεῖνον τοιούσδε γενήσεσθαι*. Dem. *de Cor.* 276 (148) *ἢ τῶν παρ' ἑαυτοῦ πεμπομένων ἱερομνημόνων ἢ τῶν ἐκείνου συμμάχων.*

§ 28. *στασιάζειν πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτῶν πόλιν*] Cp. *Anab.* VI. 1. 29 *ὅστις...στασιάζει πρὸς ἄρχοντα, τοῦτον πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σωτηρίαν στασιάζειν.*

§ 29. *δεομένων*] "at the request of the crews." Cp. *ἀποβαινόντων*, 3. 22. Jelf, § 695. 3. *Obs.* 1.

*ἀπεπέμψαντο*] "*dimiserunt.*"

§ 30. *ἐπόθησαν*] "felt the loss of," "missed," "*desideraverunt.*"

*κοινότητα*] "affability." Cp. *Cyn.* XIII. 9 *οἱ μὲν γὰρ σοφισταὶ πλουσίους καὶ νέους θηρῶνται, οἱ δὲ φιλόσοφοι πᾶσι κοινοὶ καὶ φίλοι.* "*Communis,*" in Latin, very nearly approaches the same sense. Pausanias incurred odium because *δυσπρόσοδον αὑτὸν παρεῖχε* (Thuc. I. 130. 2).

*ἀνεξυνοῦτο*] sc. *ἀνεκοινοῦτο*, *ξυνός* differing from *κοινός* only in dialect. Cp. *Hell.* VI. 3. 8 *ποιεῖσθε δὲ πολεμίους οὐκ ἀνακοινούμενοι τοῖς συμμάχοις.*

*ἀπὸ τοῦ παραχρῆμα*] "off-hand," "on the spur of the moment," "impromptu." Cp. the use of *αὐτοσχεδιάζειν*.

§ 31. *δοκῶν*] "having the reputation of."

*κατηγορήσας Τισσαφέρνους*] Cp. Thuc. VIII. 85.

*τὰ ὄντα*] "the truth." Cp. *Symp.* IV. 45 *νομίζοντες τὰ ὄντα*

*εἰρηκέναι αὐτόν.* Thuc. VII. 8. 2 *φοβούμενος μὴ...οὐ τὰ ὄντα ἀπαγγέλλωσιν.*

**P. 13.** § 32. *ἐν Θάσῳ*] The insurrection was headed by Ecphantus: Dem. *c. Lept.* 474, 5 *Θασίους τοὺς μετ' Ἐκφάντου οἳ παραδόντες ὑμῖν Θάσον καὶ τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων φρουρὰν μεθ' ὅπλων ἐκβαλόντες*...The island of Thasos was colonized from Paros, being situate S. W. of Abdera, and distant half a day's sail from Amphipolis (Thuc. IV. 104. 3). It revolted from Athens B.C. 465 in consequence of a dispute concerning the trading-marts and mining works on the Thracian coast (*id.* I. 100. 2, 3). The inhabitants at that time solicited aid from Lacedæmon, which the great earthquake and revolt of the Helots prevented from being sent, and the island surrendered. In the year 411 B.C. Diotrephes of Pisander's party put down the democracy and established an oligarchical government: upon which the Thasians proceeded to rebuild their city wall and negotiate through their exiles with the Lacedæmonians.

§ 33. *Δεκελείας*] This outpost, about midway between Athens and Bœotia, was occupied and fortified by the Lacedæmonians on the advice of Alcibiades (Thuc. VI. 91. 6, 7; VII. 19. 1). The occupation was the cause of heavy losses and great distress to the Athenians (*id.* VII. 27, 28).

*τοὺς ἄλλους...ἅπαντας*] sc. resident-aliens (*μέτοικοι*), strangers (*ξένοι*), and others.

§ 34. *τῶν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν*] "those in the extreme rear:" sc. *τῶν ὀπισθοφυλάκων*, "*novissimi agminis.*" Cp. II. 4. 12, for a similar use of *ἐπί*. *Anab.* VI. 5 *ἐπὶ τῷ μέσῳ ἕπεσθαι.* Jelf, § 634. 1. *a.*

§ 35. *ἐκ τῆς Δεκελείας ἰδών*] Cp. Thuc. VII. 19. 2 *ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ πεδίῳ καὶ τῆς χώρας τοῖς κρατίστοις ἐς τὸ κακουργεῖν ᾠκοδομεῖτο τὸ τεῖχος, ἐπιφανὲς μέχρι τῆς τῶν Ἀθηναίων πόλεως.*

*καταθέοντα*] Cp. note, II. 2. 23.

*εἰ μή τις σχήσοι*] Cp. note, II. 3. 17.

*φοιτᾷ*] "*kept* coming in (of repeated action)." Cp. Hdt. VII. 23 *σῖτος δέ σφισι πολλὸς ἐφοίτα ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης ἀληλεσμένος.* *Infr.* 6. 7 *ταῖς ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας φοιτήσεσιν* (repeated visitings). Cp. also *Anab.* VI. 6. 3 *ἀγοραὶ πάντοθεν ἀφικνοῦντο ἐκ τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων.*

*Κλέαρχον τὸν Ῥαμφίου*] This Clearchus, after peace had been established, led a Lacedæmonian army against Thrace; and on refusing to obey the summons of the ephors to return home, was condemned to death in his absence. Subsequently he

joined the expedition of Cyrus, and we find him represented (*Anab.* II. 6. 1—15) as a brave and keen soldier (*ἀνὴρ πολεμικὸς καὶ φιλοπόλεμος*), adventurous yet full of tact (*φιλοκίνδυνος καὶ ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς φρόνιμος*), adapted to command (*ἀρχικὸς*), of surly countenance and harsh voice (*ὁρᾶν στυγνὸς καὶ τῇ φωνῇ τραχύς*).

§ 36. *δόξαντος δὲ τούτου*] Similarly the nominative absolute is used: *Hell.* III. 2. 19 *δόξαντα δὲ ταῦτα καὶ περανθέντα.* Cp. 7. 30.

P. 14. *Σηστόν*] described in *Hell.* IV. 8. 5, as *κατ' ἀντικρὺ ὄντα Ἀβύδου καὶ ἀπέχοντα οὐ πλεῖον ὀκτὼ σταδίων.* Grote (VII. p. 370, n.) thinks that Sestus, the Athenian station, is put by inadvertence for Abydus, the Peloponnesian station.

§ 37. *Ἀννίβα*] grandson of Hamilcar.

*Σελινοῦντα*] Virgil, *Æn.* III. 705 *teque datis linquo velis, palmosa Selinus.*

c. II. § 1. *τῷ ἄλλῳ ἔτει*] "the next year." Cp. 1. 13 *τῇ ἄλλῃ ἡμέρᾳ.* For the attraction of *ᾧ* to its antecedent, cp. Jelf, § 822. 2. *Obs.* 8.

*ἐνίκα*] "was the victor." Cp. *κατηγόρει*, 7. 31; *προηγόρει*, II. 2. 22; *ἐνίκων καὶ κατεδίωξαν*, II. 4. 19.

*τὸ δὲ στάδιον*] sc. *ἐνίκα.* Cp. *Ὀλύμπια, παγκράτιον νικᾶν.* Jelf, § 564.

*πλοῖα*] sc. *πλοῖα μακρά* (1. 34 *τριήρεις δὲ πεντήκοντα*). Cp. *Œcon.* VIII. 12 *πολλοῖς δὲ μηχανήμασιν ἀνθώπλισται πρὸς τὰ πολέμια πλοῖα.*

*ὡς ἅμα καὶ πελτασταῖς ἐσομένους*] "considering that they were about to engage with targeteers." Jelf, § 603. 2. We first find *πελτασταί* in the army of Brasidas (Thuc. IV. 111. 1). The *πέλτη* appears to have been a light shield, less cumbrous than the *ὅπλον*, and consisting of a frame of wood or wickerwork covered with skin or leather without the metallic rim (*ἴτυς*). A shield of similar construction was part of the national armour of Thrace and of other kindred nations. Iphicrates (*Hell.* IV. 5. 11—17) almost totally destroyed a mora of Lacedæmonian heavy-armed troops with a body of these targeteers.

*ἀρχομένου τοῦ θέρους*] about the beginning of April.

§ 2. *Πύγελα*] Livy XXXVII. 11 *post solis occasum profectus septuaginta navibus tectis vento adverso ante lucem Pygela portum tenuit.*

*διεσπαρμένους ὄντας*] The double participle is worthy of notice: cp. II. 1. 28; *Symp.* VIII. 2 *Κριτόβουλος ἐρώμενος ὤν*.

§ 3. *ἐκτὸς*] "except." *Infr.* 6. 34. Cp. the use of the Latin *extra*: Cic. *ad Fam.* VII. 3. 2 *extra ducem paucosque praeterea reliqui in bello rapaces.* Liv. VIII. 32 *extra ea cave vocem mittas.* We find *ἔξω* used with a similar meaning: Hdt. VII. 29 *οὐδενὶ ἀνδρὶ συνέμιξα ἐς τόδε...ἔξω σεῦ.*

§ 4. *Νότιον*] Notium was occupied by the Colophonians on the loss of Colophon: Thuc. III. 34. 1 *ἐς Νότιον τὸ Κολοφωνίων, οὗ κατῴκηντο Κολοφώνιοι τῆς ἄνω πόλεως ἑαλωκυίας ὑπὸ Ἰταμένους καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων κατὰ στάσιν ἰδίᾳ ἐπαχθέντων.* Herodotus (I. 149) reckons it among the Æolian towns. Livy (XXXVII. 26) says "*ipse copias ad Notium ducit: id oppidum Colophonium mari imminens abest a vetere Colophone duo ferme millia passuum.*"

P. 15. *ἀκμάζοντος τοῦ σίτου*] in the month of June. Cp. Arnold on Thuc. II. 19. 1 *τοῦ σίτου ἀκμάζοντος.*

*λείαν*] esp. of cattle: cp. Thuc. II. 94. 4 *ἀνθρώπους καὶ λείαν λαβόντες.* VIII. 3. 1 *τῆς λείας τὴν πολλὴν ἀπολαβών.* Soph. *Aj.* 25 *ἐφθαρμένας γὰρ ἀρτίως εὑρίσκομεν λείας ἁπάσας καὶ κατηναρισμένας Ἐκ χειρὸς αὐτοῖς ποιμνίων ἐπιστάταις*: 53 *σύμμικτά τε λείας ἄδαστα βουκόλων φρουρήματα*: 145 *βοτὰ καὶ λείαν.* Cp. *infr.* 3. 2.

*πολλήν*] "in great abundance." Jelf, § 714. 1. c.

§ 5. *Στάγης*] *ὕπαρχος Τισσαφέρνους* (Thuc. VIII. 16. 3).

§ 6. *συνέλεγε καὶ ἀπέστελλε*] "proceeded to collect and despatch."

*τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι*] Thucydides (III. 104. 6) compares the Ephesian festival with the ancient Delian meeting: *ξύν τε γὰρ γυναιξὶ καὶ παισὶν ἐθεώρουν, ὥσπερ νῦν ἐς τὰ Ἐφέσια Ἴωνες, καὶ ἀγὼν ἐποιεῖτο αὐτόθι, καὶ γυμνικὸς καὶ μουσικὸς, χόρους τε ἀνῆγον αἱ πόλεις.*

§ 9. *πρὸς τοὺς ὁπλίτας ἐβοήθησαν*] "came to aid *against* the hoplites:" *supr.* § 3, *πρὸς τοὺς αὐτῶν ψιλοὺς* = "*to the aid of* their light-armed." So *βοηθεῖν ἐπὶ*, followed by the name of a person, is "to carry aid against him"; followed by the name of a place, "to carry aid to it." Arnold, Thuc. VIII. 11.

P. 16. § 10. *ἔδωκαν...ἔδοσαν*] Xenophon not unfrequently delights to vary his style of writing: cp. *Anab.* I. 7. 3 *ἀμείνονας καὶ κρείττους.* V. 7. 7 *Βορέας...ὁ Βορρᾶς.* *Hell.* IV. 8. 15 *στερηθεῖεν ...ἀναγκασθείησαν.*

*ἀπωλώλει*] Cp. 1. 37.

§ 12. αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσι] "crews and all." The notion here is that of an accompaniment or accessory. In Homer and the Attic poets we find σὺν also used with this expression; sometimes also the article is added. Cp. 5. 19. Jelf, § 604. 1.

§ 13. Λάμψακον] a colony from Miletus and Phocæa.

§ 14. ἐν λιθοτομίαις] This was in retaliation for the confinement of the Athenian prisoners in the quarries of Syracuse at the close of the Sicilian expedition (Thuc. VII. 86, 87).

οἱ δ' εἰς Μέγαρα] "and some few to Megara." The second clause is not in the speaker's mind when he conceives the first. For a similar ellipse, cp. Plat. *Apol.* 18 D ὅσοι δὲ (οἱ μὲν) φθόνῳ καὶ διαβολῇ χρώμενοι ὑμᾶς ἀνέπειθον, οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ πεπεισμένοι ἄλλους πείθοντες. Dem. *F. L.* 397, 8 καὶ ὅσοι διὰ ταῦτ' ἀπολώλασι παρ' ὑμῖν οἱ δὲ χρήματα πάμπολλ' ὠφλήκασιν (where Shilleto says that the ellipse is more common in Plato than in other writers). Jelf, § 767. 1, 2.

§ 15. οὐκ ἠβούλοντο...συντάττεσθαι] Cp. Plut. *Alc.* 29 οὕτω δ' ἐπήρθησαν οἱ μετὰ τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου στρατευσάμενοι καὶ τοσοῦτον ἐφρόνησαν, ὥστ' ἀπαξιοῦν ἔτι τοῖς ἄλλοις καταμιγνύναι στρατιώταις ἑαυτοὺς πολλάκις ἡττημένοις ἀηττήτους ὄντας.

**P. 17.** § 16. ἀφείλετο] either "precluded farther pursuit," or "concealed Pharnabazus."

§ 17. ἐκ] "immediately after (following upon)." Lat. "*ab.*"

ἤπειρον] the Asiatic continent: cp. *Hell.* III. 1. 5 ἐκ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων. Hdt. III. 134 ἐκ τῆσδε τῆς ἠπείρου (Asia) ἐς τὴν ἑτέρην ἤπειρον (Europe).

§ 18. τὸ Κορυφάσιον] Cp. Thuc. IV. 3. 2 ἀπέχει γὰρ σταδίους μάλιστα ἡ Πύλος τῆς Σπάρτης τετρακοσίους, καὶ ἔστιν ἐν τῇ Μεσσηνίᾳ ποτὲ οὔσῃ γῇ, καλοῦσι δὲ αὐτὴν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι Κορυφάσιον. It appears from Diodorus (XIII. 64) that Pylus was retaken by the Lacedæmonians after a severe assault (Anytus having failed to relieve it with his fleet). Demosthenes had fortified it B.C. 425.

Ἡρακλείᾳ τῇ Τραχινίᾳ] Heraclea was founded by the Lacedæmonians B.C. 426. On that occasion none had been excluded from participating in the colony except Achæans and Ionians and some others (Thuc. III. 92. 7). Its failure was owing in a great measure to the tyranny of the Lacedæmonian governors (*id.* III. 93. 4). Thucydides mentions the hostility of the Œtæans against the Trachinians; III. 92. 2 τούτων δὲ οἱ Τραχίνιοι πολέμῳ ἐφθαρμένοι ὑπὸ Οἰταίων ὁμόρων ὄντων: also against

the Dorians; III. 92. 3 *ὑπὸ γὰρ τῶν Οἰταίων καὶ αὐτοὶ (οἱ Δωριῆς) ἐφθείροντο.* We find Agis punishing the Œtæans for their ancient feud, Thuc. VIII. 3. 1. On this occasion he also exacted money and hostages from them.

*πρὸς ἑπτακοσίους*] "about (almost up to) seven hundred." Cp. *Anab.* IV. 5. 2 *καὶ διέβαινον αὐτὸν βρεχόμενοι πρὸς τὸν ὀμφαλόν.* *πρός* defines the number more loosely than *εἰς*. Cp. the expressions *πρὸς ἑσπέραν, ἡμέραν,* &c.

c. III. § 2. Καλχηδόνα] "The true name of this city, as given universally on its coins, is *Καλχηδόνα*. But the Attic writers, or at least the existing MSS. of them, have adopted the form Χαλκηδὼν, and the Romans followed them in writing "Chalchedon," and not "Calchedon." Arnold on Thuc. IV. 75. 3.

*λείαν*] moveable property which could be pillaged.

*κατέθεντο*] "deposited (in a place of safety)." Plutarch (*Alc.* 29) gives us *εἰς Βιθυνοὺς ἐκτίθενται* ("export").

Βιθυνοὺς Θρᾷκας] This people originally came from the banks of the Strymon in Thrace: Hdt. VII. 75 *οὗτοι δὲ διαβάντες μὲν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, ἐκλήθησαν Βιθυνοί· τὸ δὲ πρότερον ἐκαλέοντο, ὡς αὐτοὶ λέγουσι, Στρυμόνιοι, οἰκέοντες ἐπὶ Στρυμόνι· ἐξαναστῆναι δέ φασι ἐξ ἠθέων ὑπὸ Τευκρῶν τε καὶ Μυσῶν.*

§ 3. *παραπλεῖν*] "*oram legere.*"

**P. 18.** § 4. *πεποιημένος*] "having effected for himself."

*ἀπὸ θαλάττης εἰς θάλατταν*] sc. from the Bosphorus to the Propontis.

§ 8. *ᾤχετο*] Cp. note, 1. 8.

*οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ στρατηγοὶ*] Thrasyllus and Theramenes.

*ἀναγαγεῖν*] "conduct up (from the coast into the interior)."

§ 9. *τὰ ὀφειλόμενα χρήματα*] "arrears."

*πολεμεῖν Καλχηδονίοις*] "I agree with the remark made by Schneider in his note upon the passage *Ἀθηναίους δὲ μὴ πολεμεῖν Καλχηδονίοις*. He notices the tenor of the covenant as it stands in Plutarch—*τὴν Φαρναβάζου δὲ χώραν μὴ ἀδικεῖν* (*Alc.* 31), which is certainly far more suitable to the circumstances. Instead of *Καλχηδονίοις* he proposes to read *Φαρναβάζῳ*. At any rate, this is the meaning." Grote, VII. p. 374. For the dative, cp. Jelf, § 601. 1.

*παρὰ*] "returning from." Cp. Arist. *Ach.* 61 *οἱ πρέσβεις οἱ παρὰ βασιλέως*: 134 *προσίτω Θέωρος ὁ παρὰ Σιτάλκους.*

**P. 19.** § 10. *περὶ Σηλυβρίαν*] "in the neighbourhood of Selybria." Cp. 1. 5 *περὶ Ἄβυδον*. Jelf, § 632. 3. 1. *b*.

*πανδημεί*] "*en masse*."

§ 15. *περιοίκων*] The *Periœci* were the outlying population of the Laconian towns, of Achæan origin and subject to their Dorian conquerors. They enjoyed civil but not political liberty. The rights which were granted to them at the conquest were forfeited on an attempt to regain their independence: henceforward they were made tributary to Sparta; they lost the right of intermarriage with the Dorians, had no voice in the public assembly, and could not be elected to important offices. On the rising of the Helots, B.C. 464, some of the *Periœci* joined them (Thuc. I. 101). *Hell.* VI. 5. 25, we find them inviting the Thebans to invade Laconia. In connexion with Cinadon's conspiracy (*Hell.* III. 3. 6) they appear most bitter against the Spartans: *ὅπου γὰρ ἐν τούτοις τις λόγος γένοιτο περὶ Σπαρτιατῶν, οὐδένα δύνασθαι κρύπτειν τὸ μὴ οὐχ ἡδέως ἂν καὶ ὠμῶν ἐσθίειν αὐτῶν*. T. Quint. Flaminius placed several of their provincial communities under the protection of the Achæan league, and Augustus Cæsar restored them to the full possession of their civic rights.

*νεοδαμώδων*] This was the name by which those Helots were known who had been freed by the state in reward for service in war: Thuc. VII. 58. 3 *δύναται δὲ τὸ Νεοδαμῶδες ἐλεύθερον ἤδη εἶναι*. We find this liberty given to the Helots who fought under Brasidas, B.C. 421 (Thuc. V. 34). In respect of their civil rights they ranked above the *Periœci*.

Ἔλιξος] Cp. Thuc. VIII. 80. 3.

**P. 20.** § 17. *ἐπιβάτης*] Cp. Thuc. VIII. 61. 2 *Λέοντά τε ἄνδρα Σπαρτιάτην, ὃς Ἀντισθένει ἐπιβάτης ξυνεξῆλθε*, where the Scholiast says *οὐ τριήραρχος, οὐδ' ἄλλην ἀρχὴν ἔχων*. Krüger there supposes it to be the title of an inferior officer in the Spartan naval service, like *ἐπιστολεὺς* (*supr.* 1. 23). "Perhaps," says Arnold, "it only signifies one who was on board, without having anything to do with the management of the ship; as if it had been the custom for one or two Spartans, without any distinct command, like Demosthenes before the occupation of Pylus (IV. 2. 4 *Δημοσθένει ὄντι ἰδιώτῃ μετὰ τὴν ἀναχώρησιν τὴν ἐξ Ἀκαρνανίας, αὐτῷ δεηθέντι εἶπον χρῆσθαι ταῖς ναυσὶ ταύταις, ἢν βούληται, περὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον*), to accompany the Spartan admiral; in order that they might be ready to take the command on any separate service where a Spartan might be needed."

§ 18. *οἱ προδιδόντες τὴν πόλιν*] "who were ready to betray the city."

§ 19. *σωσαι*] Xenophon frequently uses the common form of the optative: cp. *ποιήσαιεν*, § 21; *τολμήσαι*, 4. 12; *κινδυνεύσαι*, 4. 17; *παρείησαν*, 4. 18.

*εἰσέσθαι*] Cobet here proposes *εἰσφρέσθαι*, comparing *Hell.* VI. 5. 43 *εἵλοντο μαχόμενοι ἀποθανεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ ζῶντες ἐπεισφρέσθαι τὸν βάρβαρον τῇ Ἑλλάδι.*

§ 20. *δὲ*] "well then, I say," "however." Lat. "*ergo.*" Cp. 6. 4. Jelf, § 767. 4.

*τὸ Θρᾴκιον*] Cp. *Anab.* VII. 1. 24 *τὸ δὲ χωρίον οἷον κάλλιστοι ἐκτάξασθαί ἐστι, τὸ Θρᾴκιον καλούμενον, ἔρημον οἰκιῶν καὶ πεδινόν.*

P. 21. § 22. *ἀποβαινόντων*] genitive absolute, where *τῶν ἄλλων* or something similar must be supplied: cp. note, 1. 29. For the construction, cp. Thuc. VIII. 24. 3 *ἔν τε Καρδαμύλῃ ἀποβάντες καὶ ἐν Βολίσσῳ.*

c. IV. § 2. *οἱ ἄλλοι ἄγγελοι*] "the other ambassadors." Cp. *Hell.* III. 2. 18 *προῆλθε πρὸς τοὺς ἀγγέλους.* *Anab.* VII. 6. 12 *Σεύθου τουτουῒ πολλοὺς ἀγγέλους πρὸς ἐμὲ πέμποντος.*

*πάντων ὧν δέονται*] sc. *πάντα ὧν δέονται*, *πάντων* being attracted into the genitive case by *ὧν*. Jelf, § 824. 1. 1. Dindorf would read *πάνθ' ὧν.*

*καὶ Κῦρος*] sc. *ἀπήντησεν.*

§ 3. *πάντων τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ*] "the whole sea-board." Cp. *Anab.* I. 9. 7 *ἐπεὶ δὲ κατεπέμφθη ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς σατράπης Λυδίας τε καὶ Φρυγίας τῆς μεγάλης καὶ Καππαδοκίας, στρατηγὸς δὲ καὶ πάντων ἀπεδείχθη, οἷς καθήκει εἰς Καστωλοῦ πεδίον ἀθροίζεσθαι...* "His command did not at that time comprise the Greek cities on the coast, which were still left to Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus." Grote, VII. p. 377.

*τὸ βασίλειον σφράγισμα*] The Scholiast on Thuc. I. 129 gives us the following information: *ἡ σφραγὶς τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως εἶχε κατὰ μέν τινας τὴν βασιλέως εἰκόνα, κατὰ δέ τινας τὴν Κύρου τοῦ πρώτου βασιλέως αὐτῶν, κατὰ δέ τινας τὸν Δαρείου ἵππον, δι' ὃν χρεμετίσαντα ἐβασίλευσεν* (Hdt. III. 85, 86, 87). Cp. *Hell.* VII. 1. 39 *ὁ Πέρσης ὁ φέρων τὰ γράμματα δείξας τὴν βασιλέως σφραγῖδα ἀνέγνω τὰ γεγραμμένα.*

*καὶ τάδε*] "these words amongst other information."

*κάρανον*] "chief (head-man)," akin to *κάρα*, *κοίρανος.*

§ 4. *μὲν μάλιστα...εἰ δὲ μή*] "if possible...failing that." *Hell.* V. 3. 7, we find an equivalent expression *μάλιστα μὲν οὖν*, with which compare Thuc. IV. 104. 4 *ἐβούλετο φθάσαι μάλιστα μὲν*

οὖν τὴν Ἀμφίπολιν, πρίν τι ἐνδοῦναι, εἰ δὲ μή, τὴν Ἠιόνα προκαταλαβών.

§ 5. μὴ...πω] "not...at present."

§ 6. φάσκων] "alleging." This word usually conveys a collateral notion of pretence, as *supr.* 1. 9 φάσκων κελεύειν βασιλέα πολεμεῖν Ἀθηναίοις. II. 4. 8. Cp. however 6. 7; 7. 11; *Mem.* I. 2. 29 φάσκων ἀνελεύθερόν τε εἶναι. Grote (VII. p. 441) contends for the simple sense of "affirming," *infr.* 7. 11; and refers to Plat. *Apol.* 21 B, where Apollo at Delphi styles Socrates in riddles the wisest man: τί οὖν ποτε λέγει (ὁ θεὸς) φάσκων ἐμὲ σοφώτατον εἶναι; The meaning there appears to be intentionally ambiguous.

ὡς μηδὲν μέμψηται] sc. ὁ Κῦρος.

§ 7. ἐνιαυτοὶ τρεῖς ἦσαν] "three years had passed." Cp. Thuc. III. 29. 2 ἡμέραι δὲ μάλιστα ἦσαν τῇ Μυτιλήνῃ ἑαλωκυίᾳ ἑπτὰ ὅτε ἐς τὸ Ἔμβατον κατέπλευσαν. Herodotus uses γίγνεσθαι, II. 2: ὡς γὰρ διέτης χρόνος ἐγεγόνεε ταῦτα τῷ ποιμένι πρήσσοντι. Cp. *infr.* II. 1. 27; 4. 25.

**P. 22.** § 11. τοῦ οἴκαδε κατάπλου...ἔχει] "(to see) how the state was affected towards him with regard to his return home." Jelf, § 528.

§ 12. ἡμέρᾳ ᾗ Πλυντήρια ἦγεν ἡ πόλις] on the 25th of the month Thargelion (about the end of May). The day of this festival (πλύνειν, to wash) was reckoned among the ἀποφράδες or *dies nefasti*, on which no assembly or court was held; while the statue of the goddess Athena was stripped of its ornaments, in order that they might be cleansed by the Πραξιεργίδαι, and covered up from human sight, her temple being surrounded by a rope.

ἀνεπιτήδειον] "unfavourable." Cp. Hdt. IX. 37 Μαρδονίῳ οὐκ ἐπιτήδεα ἐγίνετο τὰ ἱρά.

σπουδαίου ἔργου] "serious undertaking."

§ 13. ἄστεος] the upper town: cp. Dem. *c. Lept.* 460 τῶν μὲν τοὺς δανεισαμένους ἀποδοῦναι κελευόντων, τοὺς ἐξ ἄστεος (*i.e.* the Thirty and their followers who supported the Oligarchy as opposed to the popular party in the Piræus). Cp. II. 4. 1.

**P. 23.** τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην] It is certainly tempting to render "the great Alcibiades." The article generally omitted with proper names is sometimes added for the sake of emphasis. So Arist. *Ach.* 10 προσδοκῶν τὸν Αἰσχύλον, "expecting to hear the famous Æschylus." Jelf, § 450. 1.

ἀπελογήθη] "*Indicativus ἀπελογήθη bene habet, quippe in re facta.*" Wolf.

μοχθηρότερά τε λεγόντων] "and more pernicious in their harangues," "who spoke with less principle."

ἀπὸ τοῦ τῆς πόλεως δυνατοῦ] "with the power of the state."

§ 14. ἐθέλοντος δὲ τότε κρίνεσθαι] Cp. Thuc. VIII. 29. 1 ὁ δ' ('Αλκιβιάδης) ἔν τε τῷ παρόντι πρὸς τὰ μηνύματα ἀπελογεῖτο (was ready to defend himself), καὶ ἑτοῖμος ἦν πρὶν ἐκπλεῖν κρίνεσθαι, κ.τ.λ.

ἠσεβηκότος εἰς τὰ μυστήρια] Cp. Thuc. VI. 28. 1 μηνύεται οὖν...καὶ τὰ μυστήρια ἅμα ὡς ποιεῖται ἐν οἰκίαις ἐφ' ὕβρει. Plut. *Alc.* 19 ταῦτα γὰρ ἐν τῇ εἰσαγγελίᾳ γέγραπται Θεσσαλοῦ τοῦ Κίμωνος εἰσαγγείλαντος 'Αλκιβιάδην ἀσεβεῖν περὶ τὼ Θεώ (Demeter and Persephone).

§ 15. δουλεύων] used in the same sense, Thuc. VIII. 84. 5: ἔφη τε χρῆναι Τισσαφέρνει καὶ δουλεύειν Μιλησίους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς ἐν τῇ βασιλέως τὰ μέτρια καὶ ἐπιθεραπεύειν.

θεραπεύειν] "pay court to."

τοὺς ἐχθίστους] sc. the Peloponnesians and Tissaphernes. Cp. Thuc. VIII. 45.

§ 16. τῶν οἵωνπερ αὐτὸς ὄντων] "such men as he." When the subject of the abbreviated adjectival sentence and the article are of different number, the subject is in the nominative, without being affected by the attraction: cp. Arist. *Ach.* 601 νεανίας δ' οἵους σὺ διαδεδρακότας. Jelf, § 823. *Obs.* 6. Contrast II. 3. 25 οἵοις ἡμῖν τε καὶ ὑμῖν.

καινῶν πραγμάτων] "innovations."

ὑπάρχειν αὐτῷ] "he had to start with." "Ὑπάρχειν keeps its proper meaning, 'to be at hand to begin with,' just as εἶναι is simply 'to be,' and γίγνεσθαι, the opposite to ὑπάρχειν, signifies 'to come into being,' as opposed to that which was in being beforehand." Arnold on Thuc. VI. 87. 4.

ἐκ τοῦ δήμου] "at the hands of the people."

δυνασθεῖσιν] "when they had *become* powerful." Cp. note, II. 2. 24.

ἀγαπᾶσθαι] "be tolerated."

§ 17. τῶν παροιχομένων κακῶν] Alcibiades had incited the Lacedæmonians to aid Syracuse (Thuc. VI. 88), had urged the necessity of fortifying Decelea (*id.* VI. 91), had effected the revolt of Chios (*id.* VIII. 14) and Miletus (*id.* VIII. 17), and had originated the conspiracy of the Four Hundred.

ἡγεμὼν] "*auctor.*"

§ 18. ὁρμισθεὶς] Cp. note, 1. 15. Soph. *Phil.* 546 τύχῃ δέ πως πρὸς ταὐτὸν ὁρμισθεὶς πέδον. In Thucydides we usually find ὁρμισάμενος.

**P. 24.** καταστρώματος] Pliny ascribes the invention of decks to the Thasians. At the time of the Persian war, the Athenian ships were without a complete deck: Thuc. I. 14. 4 καὶ αὗται οὔπω εἶχον διὰ πάσης καταστρώματα. Ships which had a complete deck were called κατάφρακτοι (Thuc. I. 10. 6).

§ 19. μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν] "not to put up with it." This seems to be rather a favourite phrase with Thucydides, who uses it I. 71. 1; I. 82. 1; I. 95. 1; VI. 40. 2. Cp. Dem. *F. L.* 426 εὖ φρονεῖν καὶ μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν τὰ τοιαῦτα.

§ 20. ἀναρρηθεὶς ἁπάντων ἡγεμὼν αὐτοκράτωρ] Cp. Corn. Nep. *Alc.* 7 *quum ei omnes essent honores decreti, totaque respublica domi bellique tradita, ut unius arbitrio gereretur.*

τὰ μυστήρια] the great Eleusinian mysteries which were celebrated in the month of Boedromion, and on the sixth day of which the statue of Iacchus was carried along the sacred road from the Ceramicus to Eleusis. Cp. Plut. *Alc.* 34 ὅταν ἐξελαύνωσι τὸν Ἴακχον. Hdt. VIII. 65. Arist. *Ran.* 316, sqq.

ἐποίησεν] "*Intellige* ἄγεσθαι" Schneider: sc. "caused them to be conducted." Ἐποίησεν might also be used here to avoid repetition of the verb of the first clause (ἀγόντων). Below we have (*Hell.* IV. 5. 2) ποιεῖν τὴν θυσίαν, ποιεῖν Ἴσθμια ("*sacra facere*"), which might raise a question whether we should not understand it here also in the sense of "celebrate" (sc. τὰ μυστήρια).

§ 21. Ἀριστοκράτης καὶ Ἀδείμαντος] Diodorus and Cornelius Nepos both state Thrasybulus and Adimantus as the colleagues of Alcibiades. Aristocrates, son of Scellias, took part with Theramenes in the outbreak for the suppression of the Four Hundred (Thuc. VIII. 89. 2), and subsequently separated from the extreme oligarchical party (*id.* VIII. 92. 2). Aristophanes (*Av.* 125) plays upon his name: ἀριστοκρατεῖσθαι δῆλος εἶ ζητῶν. ἐγώ; Ἥκιστα. καὶ τὸν Σκελλίου βδελύττομαι.

§ 22. Γαύρειον] Cp. Livy, XXXI. 45 *in portu quem Gaureleon vocant.*

§ 23. ὁρμώμενος] "making it his base of operations." Cp. Thuc. III. 31. 1 τῶν ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ πόλεων καταλαβεῖν τινὰ ἢ Κύμην τὴν Αἰολίδα, ὅπως ἐκ πόλεως ὁρμώμενοι τὴν Ἰωνίαν ἀποστήσωσιν. Cp. also *infr.* II. 1. 16.

c. v. § 1. τούτων] *i.e.* the series of events included in c. 4. §§ 8—23.

**P. 25.** § 3. πάντα ποιήσειν] "would use all endeavours ('leave no stone unturned')." Lat. "*omnia experiri*," "*nihil intentatum relinquere.*" Cp. Plat. *Apol.* 39 A ὅπως ἀποφεύξεται πᾶν ποιῶν θάνατον. We find it in construction with ὅπως, ὡς, ὥστε. *Infr.* 7. 15. it seems merely equivalent to "would do everything," and the sense *may* be the same in this passage, sc. "would execute all his father's commands."

κατακόψειν] "would coin into money." Cp. Hdt. III. 96 ἐπεὰν δὲ δεηθῇ χρημάτων, κατακόπτει (ὁ Δαρεῖος) τοσοῦτο ὅσου ἂν ἑκάστοτε δέηται. Compare the promise of Tissaphernes to the Athenians, Thuc. VIII. 81. 3: μὴ ἀπορήσειν αὐτοὺς τροφῆς, οὐδ' ἢν δέῃ τελευτῶντα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ στρωμνὴν ἐξαργυρίσαι.

§ 4. ἐκέλευον] "urged." Whether the imperfect is used in this sense ("urge," "request") and the aorist in that of "ordering," "bidding" seems questionable. The best Manuscripts read in Thuc. I. 138. 1 ἐθαύμασέ τε καὶ ἐκέλευε, where Artaxerxes could hardly be said to make a request to Themistocles. The imperfect use Arist. *Ach.* 960, 962 is however well satisfied in denoting the *request* of Lamachus to Dicæopolis; and we find the aorist ἐκέλευσε (II. 3. 54) of the positive order for the seizure of Theramenes. Cp. *Anab.* I. 6. 3; VII. 1. 38; II. 3. 20; IV. 2. 16.

τῷ ναύτῃ] "*a* sailor." Cp. *Anab.* I. 3. 21 τρία ἡμιδαρεικὰ του μηνὸς τῷ στρατιώτῃ.

δραχμὴν Ἀττικήν] The Athenian sailors received an Attic drachma or six obols *per diem* (the Æginetan drachma being equal to ten Attic obols) in the Sicilian expedition: Thuc. VI. 31. 3 τοῦ μὲν δημοσίου δραχμὴν τῆς ἡμέρας τῷ ναύτῃ ἑκάστῳ διδόντος. At the siege of Potidæa the Athenian hoplites, their servants, and the ships' crews received equal pay, viz., a drachma a day (Thuc. III. 17. 4). Tissaphernes also paid the Peloponnesian fleet at the same rate, but wished to reduce their wages to three obols a day (the usual rate of pay): Thuc. VIII. 29. 1 καὶ μηνὸς μὲν τροφήν, ὥσπερ ὑπέστη ἐν τῇ Λακεδαίμονι, ἐς δραχμὴν Ἀττικὴν ἑκάστῳ πάσαις ταῖς ναυσὶ διέδωκε, τοῦ δὲ λοιποῦ χρόνου ἐβούλετο τριώβολον διδόναι. The half-drachma was also the pay of the dicasts or jurymen for a day's sitting in court.

διδάσκοντες] "affirming." Cp. *Hell.* III. 5. 4 διδάσκοντες ὡς οὐκ ἦρξαν τοῦ πολέμου.

μείω χρήματα ἀναλώσει] sc. ὁ Κῦρος.

§ 5. τρέφειν] "maintain." Cp. Thuc. VIII. 44. 1 καὶ ἅμα

ἡγούμενοι αὐτοὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ὑπαρχούσης ξυμμαχίας δυνατοὶ ἔσεσθαι, Τισσαφέρνην μὴ αἰτοῦντες χρήματα, τρέφειν τὰς ναῦς.

§ 6. *προπιὼν*] "having drunk his health." Sometimes we find *προπίνειν φιλοτησίαν, φιλοτησίας* (i.e. *κύλικας*), "drink one's health in a loving cup."

*εἶπεν ὅτι*] Ὅτι must be represented in English by inverted commas. Cp. Hdt. I. 207 *εἶπον μὲν καὶ πρότερόν τοι ὅτι ἐπεί με Ζεὺς ἔδωκέ τοι, τὸ ἂν ὁρῶ σφάλμα ἐὸν οἴκῳ τῷ σῷ κατὰ δύναμιν ἀποτρέψειν.* Blakesley there says that *ὅτι* sometimes is used to introduce the very words which have been employed on any occasion alluded to; in which case it is not taken into account in the construction. It is not correct to regard the word *ὅτι* as simply pleonastic.

§ 7. *προσοφειλόμενον*] The Manuscripts here give *προσοφειλόμενον*, "owing in addition (*to what had been paid*, cp. note, II. 4. 22) i.e. in arrear," which we find also in Thuc. VIII. 45. 2, *τὸν προσοφειλόμενον μισθόν*, and in Hdt. VI. 59, *τὸν προσοφειλόμενον φόρον.* Cp. Thuc. VII. 48. 5 *καὶ ἔτι πολλὰ (τάλαντα) προσοφείλειν.* Later editions read *προοφειλόμενον*, comparing Thuc. I. 32. 1. So in Thuc. VI. 31. 5, the Manuscript reading is *προσετετελέκει*, for which cp. Anab. VII. 6. 30 *εἰ δὲ δὴ ὁ συμπαρέχων ὑμῖν ταύτην τὴν ἀσφάλειαν μὴ πάνυ πολὺν μισθὸν προσετέλει τῆς ἀσφαλείας, τοῦτο δὴ τὸ σχέτλιον πάθημα;* Many editions there read *προετετελέκει*, comparing *Anab.* VII. 7. 25 *τί προτελέσας ἡμῖν συμμάχους ἡμᾶς ἔλαβες.*

*προέδωκεν*] "paid in advance." Cp. *Hell.* V. 1. 24 *μηνὸς μισθὸν προέδωκε τοῖς στρατιώταις.*

P. 26. § 8. *ἀθύμως εἶχον*] "were in a desponding state of mind." Cp. 5. 16; 6. 20. Xenophon gives us also *ἀκολάστως, ἐπιφθόνως, εὐνοϊκῶς, φιλοτίμως ἔχειν.* We find the simple dative or *πρὸς* c. accus. after these expressions.

§ 9. *πεισθεὶς ὑπ' Ἀλκιβιάδου*] Cp. Thuc. VIII. 46.

§ 10. *ἀναψύχων*] lit. "airing," i.e. by hauling them up high and dry, and exposing them to the wind. Cp. Thuc. VII. 12. 3, 4 *τὸ γὰρ ναυτικὸν...τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἤκμαζε...τῶν νεῶν τῇ ξηρότητι· νῦν δὲ αἵ τε νῆες διάβροχοι* (soaked and rotten), *τοσοῦτον χρόνον ἤδη θαλασσεύουσαι...τὰς μὲν γὰρ ναῦς οὐκ ἔστιν ἀνελκύσαντας διαψῦξαι.* Cp. also Hdt. VII. 59 *ἐς τοῦτον τὸν αἰγιαλὸν κατασχόντες, τὰς νέας ἀνέψυχον ἀνελκύσαντες.*

§ 11. *ἔξω Ἑλλησπόντου*] Schneider reads *ἐξ* for *ἔξω*, referring to 4. 9. Ἔξω however seems to be used with the genitive in much the same way as *ἐξ*, especially in Homer and the Attic

poets. Cp. 6. 20 ἐξέπλευσαν ἔξω τοῦ λιμένος. Herodotus even gives us ἐκπλώσαντές τε ἔξω τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον (v. 103), and ὁ δὲ ναυτικὸς ἔξω τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον πλέων (vii. 58), where only one Manuscript has τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου.

τειχίζειν] "was fortifying," probably to make it his base of operations.

Ἀντίοχον] Plutarch tells us (*Alc.* 10) how Antiochus first won the favour of Alcibiades by catching a tame quail which had escaped from his bosom. He gives him this character c. 35: ἀγαθὸς μὲν ἦν κυβερνήτης, ἀνόητος δὲ τἆλλα καὶ φορτικός (coarse).

§ 13. τότε δή] "then, and not till then," "*tum demum.*"

ὡς ἕκαστος ἤνοιξεν] "as each cleared the harbour, and made the open sea." Cp. 1. 2; 6. 21.

§ 14. διεσπαρμέναις ταῖς ναυσί] "with their ships dispersed." Jelf, § 459. 1. δ.

**P. 27.** § 15. εἴ τις] Cp. note ii. 3. 17.

Δελφίνιον] Delphinium in the island of Chios had been fortified by the Athenians B.C. 412: χωρίον ἄλλως τε ἐκ γῆς καρτερὸν καὶ λιμένας ἔχον καὶ τῆς τῶν Χίων πόλεως οὐ πολὺ ἀπέχον (Thuc. viii. 38. 2).

Ἠιόνα] Diodorus says Teos; and Grote (vii. p. 396) would follow him in reading Τέων.

§ 16. ἐν οἴκῳ] Cp. 7. 1.

ἀκράτειαν] "intemperance." Cp. Plut. *Alc.* 36 παραδιδοὺς τὴν στρατηγίαν ἀνθρώποις ἐκ τούτων καὶ ναυτικῆς σπερμολογίας (gossip) δυναμένοις παρ' αὐτῷ μέγιστον, ὅπως αὐτὸς ἐπ' ἀδείας χρηματίζηται περιπλέων καὶ ἀκολασταίνῃ μεθυσκόμενος καὶ συνὼν ἑταίραις Ἀβυδηναῖς καὶ Ἰωνίσιν.

§ 17. πονηρῶς φερόμενος] "*male audiens*": cp. εὖ φερόμενος, "in good estimation," ii. 1. 6. Εὖ φερόμενος (Thuc. v. 16. 1), καλῶς φερόμενος (ii. 60. 3) as opposed to κακοτυχῶν, appear to have the meaning of "being successful," with which we may compare *Hell.* iii. 4. 25 γνοὺς δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς Τισσαφέρνην αἴτιον εἶναι τοῦ κακῶς φέρεσθαι τὰ αὐτοῦ.

τὰ ἑαυτοῦ τείχη] Cp. ii. 1. 25. Corn. Nep. *Alc.* 7 *se Pactyen contulit, ibique tria castella communiit, Bornos, Bisanthen, Neontichos; manuque collecta primus Græciæ privatus in Thraciam introiit, gloriosius existimans, barbarorum præda locupletari, quam Graiorum.* *Anab.* vii. 3. 19 (where Seuthes to Xenophon) καὶ ἐν τῇδε τῇ χώρᾳ ἴσως ἀξιώσεις καὶ τείχη λαμβάνειν,

*ὥσπερ καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν ὑμετέρων ἔλαβον.* Cp. also Corn. Nep. *Milt.* 2 *tota regione, quam petierat, potitus, loca castellis idonea communiit.*

§ 19. *αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσι*] Cp. note, 2. 12.

*Δωριέα...ἀφεῖσαν*] Pausanias (VI. 7. 1, 2) tells us that this Dorieus, son of Diagoras, had gained the first prize at three Olympic festivals in succession, eight victories at the Isthmian games, and seven at the Nemæan; and that when the Athenians saw before them a man of such stature and renown in the garb of a prisoner, they set aside their anger, and at once released him.

*αὐτοῖς*] sc. the Thurians.

**P. 28.** c. VI. § 1. *ὁ παλαιὸς τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς νεὼς*] probably the temple of Athena Polias, the Parthenon having been already built (438 B.C.) on the site of the old Hecatompedon. The remarks however on *τῷ πολέμῳ τεττάρων καὶ εἴκοσιν ἐτῶν* (p. viii, Introduction) *may* apply to the whole section.

*τοῦ χρόνου*] "period of office." Cp. note, § 4.

§ 2. *ἐκέλευσεν*] as his superior officer. Cp. note, 5. 4.

§ 3. *οὐ φαμένου πολυπραγμονεῖν*] "declining to be officious."

§ 4. *καταμαθὼν ... καταστασιαζόμενος*] "finding that he was being intrigued against." Cp. *Anab.* V. 8. 14 *κατέμαθον ἀναστὰς μόλις.* So with Lat. "*sentire.*" Jelf, § 683.

*διαθροούντων*] "noising abroad." Cp. Thuc. VI. 46. 4 *ἀφικόμενοι εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας διεθρόησαν ὡς χρήματα πολλὰ ἴδοιεν.*

*ἐν τῷ διαλλάττειν τοὺς ναυάρχους*] The office of *ναύαρχος* lasted for one year at this period. Earlier in the war Cnemus and Alcidas both held it for two years. Aristotle (*Polit.* II. 9. 33) speaks of the *ναυαρχία* thus: *τῷ δὲ περὶ τοὺς ναυάρχους νόμῳ καὶ ἕτεροί τινες ἐπιτετιμήκασιν, ὀρθῶς ἐπιτιμῶντες· στάσεως γὰρ γίνεται αἴτιος. Ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν οὖσι στρατηγοῖς ἀΐδιος (ἀϊδίοις) ἡ ναυαρχία σχεδὸν ἑτέρα βασιλεία καθέστηκεν.* Cp. Arnold on Thuc. II. 80. 2.

**P. 29.** *τι παθεῖν*] "meet with some disaster."

*ἐκ τούτου δὲ*] Cp. note, 3. 20.

§ 5. *τὸ κατ᾽ ἐμέ*] "as far as I am concerned." Sometimes we find *εἶναι* with these expressions, as *Anab.* I. 6. 9 *τὸ κατὰ τοῦτον εἶναι.* Cp. *Hell.* III. 5. 9 *τὸ μὲν ἐπ᾽ ἐκείνοις εἶναι.* Thuc. IV. 28. 1 *τὸ ἐπὶ σφᾶς εἶναι.* Jelf, § 679. 2.

*πρὸς ἃ ἐγώ τε...αἰτιάζεται*] "having regard both to the objects of my ambition, and to the charges laid against our country."

*τὰ καθεστῶτα*] "state of affairs."

§ 7. *φοιτήσεσιν*] Cp. note, 1. 35.

P. 30. § 10. *τὰ ἐνθάδε ὑπάρχοντα*] "the supplies which were here ready." Cp. note, 4. 16. Ὑπάρχειν is stronger than *εἶναι, γίγνεσθαι.*

*ἐμαυτὸν πεῖσαι*] "bring myself."

§ 11. *ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ ᾧ*] usually more briefly expressed by *ἐν ᾧ*. Cp. *Symp.* IV. 1 *ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ ᾧ ἂν ὑμῶν ἀκούω ἀπορούντων τί τὸ δίκαιον, ἐν τούτῳ δικαιοτέρους τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ποιῶ.*

*ἐκεῖνα*] "the supplies from home."

*ἀλλὰ σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς*] Ἀλλὰ is often used thus in quick transition from previous narration to exhortation. Cp. Hom. *Il.* I. 274 *ἀλλὰ πίθεσθε καὶ ὔμμες, ἐπεὶ πείθεσθαι ἄμεινον.* Eur. *I. A.* 903 *ἀλλ' ἄμυνον, ὦ θεᾶς παῖ.* Jelf, § 774. For *σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς*, cp. Livy, XXI. 43 *agite cum dis bene juvantibus arma capite.*

*θαυμάζειν*] "paying court to," "worshipping." Cp. Hdt. III. 82 *ἐκ δὲ αὐτῶν θωυμάζεται οὗτος δὴ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου· θωυμαζόμενος δὲ, ἀν' ὧν ἐφάνη μούναρχος ἐών.* Eur. *Med.* 1144 *δέσποινα δ' ἣν νῦν ἀντὶ σοῦ θαυμάζομεν.* Hor. *Od.* IV. 14. 42, 3 *te profugus Scythes Miratur.*

§ 12. *πόρον χρημάτων*] "a grant of money," lit., "a way or means of getting money (cp. our 'ways and means')." The *πορισταί* at Athens were a board of commissioners who levied the extraordinary supplies. Cp. *Hell.* V. 1. 2 *ἀφιγμένος κατὰ χρημάτων πόρον* (*ad cogendas pecunias*).

*πεντεδραχμίαν*] equivalent to ten days' pay at the usual rate.

§ 13. *οὐ βουλομένων...ἐμφρούρων ὄντων*] Cp. *Hell.* III. 1. 15 *αἱ δὲ ἄλλαι πόλεις οὐκ ἐδέχοντο αὐτὸν, ἀλλὰ Φαρναβάζῳ ἔσωζον αὐτὰς οἱ ἐνοντες φρουροί.* Cobet reads *ἐμφρουρούντων*, comparing Thuc. IV. 110. 3 *τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τοὺς ἐμφρουροῦντας*: VIII. 60. 1 *Ἀθηναίων ἐμφρουρούντων.*

*τῶν τὰ πράγματα ἐχόντων*] "those at the head of affairs.' Cp. Thuc. III. 72. 2 *τῶν Κερκυραίων οἱ ἔχοντες τὰ πράγματα*: III. 28. 1 *γνόντες δὲ οἱ ἐν τοῖς πράγμασιν.* Demosthenes uses *οἱ ἐπὶ τοῖς πράγμασιν, οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ὄντες.*

*κατὰ κράτος*] "by storm," as II. 1. 15. The expression is used as equivalent to *ἀνὰ κράτος*, "*totis viribus*," II. 1. 28: cp.

Thuc. VIII. 100. 5 *παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς κατὰ κράτος μηχαναῖς τε καὶ παντὶ τρόπῳ, ἣν δύνωνται, αἱρήσοντες τὴν Ἔρεσον.*

**P. 31.** § 14. *ἀνδραποδισθῆναι*] We might expect the Future tense, but the Aorist properly expresses the indefinite notion of time: cp. *Hell.* V. 1. 32 *ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος οὐκ ἔφη δέξασθαι τοὺς ὅρκους* (where *δέξασθαι* and not *δέξεσθαι* is the reading of all the best Manuscripts): Thuc. I. 26. 5 *προεῖπον...χρήσασθαι.* V. 22. 1 *οὐκ ἔφασαν δέξασθαι.* *Infr.* 7. 29 *Θρασύλος δὲ ἀμφότερα ἔφη γενέσθαι.* We find the present, *Anab.* I. 3. 1 *οἱ γὰρ στρατιῶται οὐκ ἔφασαν ἰέναι τοῦ πρόσω*: IV. 5. 15 *καὶ οὐκ ἔφασαν πορεύεσθαι.* There does not seem any sufficient reason to suspect that *ἄν* has been omitted in transcription in these places, or to substitute the future for the aorist (where practicable).

§ 15. *τὰ ἀνδράποδα τὰ δοῦλα*] "the slaves who had been bondsmen," i.e. those who had not merely become slaves by being captured in war. Cp. Thuc. VIII. 28. 4 *τό τε πόλισμα Τισσαφέρνει παραδόντες καὶ τὰ ἀνδράποδα πάντα, καὶ δοῦλα καὶ ἐλεύθερα.* *Δοῦλος* is the general term, applying equally to political and to domestic slavery; *ἀνδράποδον* applies exclusively to domestic. Cp. Arnold on Thuc. V. 9. 6.

*μοιχῶντα*] "dallying with."

§ 16. *τῶν δέκα...Ἐρασινίδης*] Cp. Thuc. VI. 6. 2 *Ἀρχίας τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν.* *Anab.* I. 8. 1 *Πατηγύας τῶν ἀμφὶ Κῦρον πιστῶν.* Jelf, § 534. b.

**P. 32.** § 19. *κοίλην ναῦν*] "the hold." Cp. Hdt. VIII. 119 *τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τοῦ καταστρώματος καταβιβάσαι ἐς κοίλην νῆα.* Theocr. XX (XXII). 12 *ἐς κοίλην ἔρριψαν.*

*παραρρύματα*] "curtains of hide (or hair)." Cp. Æsch. *Suppl.* 715 *στολμοί τε λαίφους καὶ παραρρύσεις νεώς.* These were probably to afford shelter from the enemies' darts: whether they are the same as the *παραβλήματα* mentioned II. 1. 22, we have no means of determining.

§ 20. *ἔξω τοῦ λιμένος*] Cp. note, 5. 11.

§ 21. *ὡς ἕκαστοι ἤνοιγον*] "as each began to clear the harbour, and make the open sea." Cp. note, 1. 2; 5. 13.

*ἀριστοποιούμενοι*] Cp. § 20 *ἐπειδὴ ἤδη μέσον ἡμέρας ἦν.* This agrees with what has been said (note, 1. 13) as to the hour of the *ἄριστον.*

*ἀναδησάμενοι*] "having taken in tow (by lashing it to the stern)."

§ 22. τὸν εὔριπον] the strait or narrow sea which opened into an interior bay towards the town.

§ 24. τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἡλικίᾳ ὄντας] "those of military age." Cp. Thuc. VI. 24. 3 τοῖς μὲν γὰρ πρεσβυτέροις...τοῖς δ' ἐν τῇ ἡλικίᾳ. Thucydides also uses the word as a collective noun: III. 67. 2 τὴν ὑπὸ τούτων ἡλικίαν ἡμῶν διεφθαρμένην. VIII. 1. 2 στερόμενοι... καὶ ἡλικίας οἵαν οὐχ ἑτέραν ἑώρων ὑπάρχουσαν. Cp. *Hell.* VI. 5. 12 τοὺς δ' ἐν τῇ στρατευσίμῳ ἡλικίᾳ. "The Grecian armies consisted chiefly of free denizens, whom the laws of their country obliged, at a certain age, to appear in arms at the summons of the magistrates. In some places they were admitted into the army at an earlier age than in others. The Athenians at eighteen years of age were appointed to guard the city and the forts belonging to it; and hence they were called περίπολοι; but they were not sent to foreign wars till the age of twenty, and the Spartans seldom till that of thirty. In both cities the young and the aged were left to defend their habitations. At threescore, it was usual, in most places, to allow them to retire. At Athens, no man who was above forty years of age was obliged to serve in war, except in times of great danger." Mitford.

δούλους] Manumission was promised to these slaves as a reward for service.

**P. 33.** § 25. ἔξω οὖσαι] "scattered abroad." Cp. Dem. *de Cor.* 262 (107) οὐ τριήρης οὔτ' ἔξω (at sea) καταληφθεῖσα ἀπώλετο τῇ πόλει, οὔτ' αὐτοῦ (in harbour) ἀπελείφθη οὐ δυναμένη ἀνάγεσθαι.

§ 26. ταῖς δὲ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν] Cp. note, I. 18.

ἐδειπνοποιεῖτο] "took his evening meal." The δεῖπνον usually took place about sunset.

ἐπὶ τῇ Μαλέᾳ ἄκρᾳ] Thucydides speaks of a promontory of Malea as lying on the north side of Mitylene: III. 4. 5 οἳ ὥρμουν ἐν τῇ Μαλέᾳ πρὸς βορέαν τῆς πόλεως. There was another promontory of the same name in the Peloponnesus at the south of Laconia.

§ 27. Ἀργινούσαις] These islands were so called from their bright appearance, owing to the chalky nature of the soil. Ἀργινοῦσαι is contracted from ἀργινόεσσαι (sc. νῆσοι). Cp. *Pityussæ*, *Œnussæ* (*insulæ*). Hom. *Il.* II. 647 ἀργινόεντα Λύκαστον: 656 ἀργινόεντα Κάμειρον: 739 πόλιν τ' Ὀλοοσσόνα λευκήν.

§ 28. ὕδωρ] "rain." Cp. *Hell.* IV. 5. 4 διὰ τὸ γενέσθαι ὕδωρ καὶ χάλαζαν πρὸς τὴν ἑσπέραν. Hor. *Od.* III. 17. 12, 13 *aquæ nisi fallit augur Annosa cornix.* Liv. XXIV. 9 *aquæ magnæ bis eo*

*anno fuerunt.* We find the fuller expression, Thuc. II. 77. 6 ὕδωρ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ πολύ. *Anab.* IV. 2. 2 καὶ ὕδωρ πολὺ ἦν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ. Hor. *Od.* III. 10. 19, 20 *aquæ Cœlestis patiens latus.*

ἀνέσχεν] "held up." The quasi-impersonal use of this word, compared with Theogn. 26. 7 οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁ Ζεὺς Οὔθ' ὕων πάντεσσ' ἁνδάνει οὔτ' ἀνέχων, seems to make a good addition to Shilleto's note on ξυνεσκόταζε, Thuc. I. 51. 2, which I roughly transcribe (lest we should be tempted to supply τὸ ὕδωρ or ὁ χειμὼν as a subject to ἀνέσχεν): "it might be pedantic to give too faithful a rendering, but it seems to deserve a remark that all this family of words ὕει, νίφει, ξυννέφει, ἀπαιθριάζει κ.τ.λ. never is impersonal. The God of the atmosphere Ζεὺς is acknowledged." Cp. Arist. *Av.* 1501; *Pac.* 1141; *Ach.* 510. So *Hell.* IV. 7. 4 ἔσεισεν ὁ θεός (Ποσειδῶν). We find the subject expressed, Hom. *Il.* XII. 25 ὗε δ' ἄρα Ζεὺς Συνεχές. Hdt. III. 117 τὸν μὲν γὰρ χειμῶνα ὕει σφι ὁ θεός. Jelf. § 373. 2.

§ 29. ἐπὶ μιᾶς] "in single line." Cp. note, II. 4. 11.

ταξιάρχων] By taxiarchs appear to be comprehended all officers under the στρατηγοί, i.e. commanders of the subordinate divisions of the army. Cp. Demosthenes at Pylus (Thuc. IV. 4. 1) ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἔπειθεν οὔτε τοὺς στρατηγοὺς οὔτε τοὺς στρατιώτας, ὕστερον καὶ τοῖς ταξιάρχοις κοινώσας, ἡσύχαζεν ὑπὸ ἀπλοίας.

§ 30. παρὰ δ' αὐτὸν] Cp. Thuc. V. 67. 2 παρὰ δ' αὐτοὺς οἱ ξύμμαχοι Ἀρκάδων ἦσαν, where all the best Manuscripts read αὐτούς. *Anab.* I. 8. 5 τοῦ δὲ βαρβαρικοῦ ἱππεῖς μὲν Παφλαγόνες εἰς χιλίους παρὰ Κλέαρχον ἔστησαν. The accusative is correct, where the idea of juxtaposition is intended. Cp. *Anab.* III. 4. 9 παρὰ ταύτην τὴν πόλιν ἦν πυραμὶς λιθίνη.

**P. 34.** § 31. ἵνα μὴ διέκπλουν διδοῖεν] "that they might not give (the Lacedæmonians) any opportunity of performing the diecplus." Contrast the altered state of things with Thuc. II. 89, where Phormion τὸν δὲ ἀγῶνα οὐκ ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ (Gulf of Corinth) ἑκὼν εἶναι (if I can help it) ποιήσομαι, οὐδὲ ἐσπλεύσομαι ἐς αὐτόν ... διέκπλοι τε οὐκ εἰσὶν οὐδὲ ἀναστροφαί, ἅπερ νεῶν ἄμεινον πλεουσῶν ἔργα ἐστίν. Cp. also *id.* VII. 36. 4 (where the Syracusans introduce improvements in the construction of their ships to suit the peculiar tactics of the Athenians) τοῖς δὲ Ἀθηναίοις οὐκ ἔσεσθαι σφῶν ἐν στενοχωρίᾳ οὔτε περίπλουν οὔτε διέκπλουν. ᾧπερ τῆς τέχνης μάλιστα ἐπίστευον. "The diecplus was a breaking through the enemy's line, in order by a rapid turn of the vessel to strike the enemy's ship on the side or stern, where it was most defenceless, and so to sink it." Arnold on Thuc. I. 49. 3.

§ 32. Καλλικρατίδας δὲ εἶπεν, κ.τ.λ.] Cp. Cic. *de off.* I. 24

*inventi autem multi sunt qui non modo pecuniam sed etiam vitam profundere pro patria parati essent, idem gloriæ jacturam ne minimam quidem facere vellent, ne republica quidem postulante, ut Callicratidas, qui, cum Lacedæmoniorum dux fuisset Peloponnesiaco bello multaque fecisset egregie, vertit ad extremum omnia, cum consilio non paruit eorum qui classem ab Arginusis removendam nec cum Atheniensibus dimicandum putabant. Quibus ille respondit Lacedæmonios classe illa amissa aliam parare posse, se fugere sine suo dedecore non posse.*

οἰκεῖται] The sense seems to require a future as οἰκιεῖται, which some Manuscripts give. But, as Breitenbach says, οἰκιεῖται (οἰκίζειν) *nusquam significat "incoletur," sive "se habebit."* Schneider proposes οἰκήσεται, for which compare Thuc. VIII. 67 γνώμην εἰσενεγκεῖν καθ' ὅτι ἄριστα ἡ πόλις οἰκήσεται. Οἰκήσει would also be correct.

§ 33. ἠφανίσθη] "was seen no more." Cp. Thuc. VIII. 38. 1 Θηραμένης ... ἀποπλέων ἐν κέλητι ἀφανίζεται (was lost at sea).

§ 34. τῶν πασῶν οὐσῶν δέκα] "the ships being ten in all." Cp. *Hell.* V. 4. 66 γενομένων αὐτῷ τῶν πασῶν πλέον ἑβδομήκοντα. Thuc. I. 100. 1 καὶ διέφθειραν τὰς πάσας ἐς διακοσίας. II. 101. 7 μείνας τριάκοντα τὰς πάσας ἡμέρας. VII. 60. 4 ξυνεπληρώθησαν νῆες αἱ πᾶσαι δέκα μάλιστα καὶ ἑκατόν. VIII. 21 ἐς διακοσίους μέν τινας τοὺς πάντας τῶν δυνατῶν ἀπέκτεινε. Jelf, § 454 1. β. The Manuscripts here read πασῶν οὐσῶν δέκα, sc. "the ships being not less than ten," with which we might compare Hdt. I. 163 ἐβίωσε δὲ πάντα εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν (ἔτεα).

§ 35. καταδεδυκυίας] "water-logged." Cp. Arnold on Thuc. I. 50. 1 "Καταδύειν ναῦν is synonymous with διαφθείρειν. Καταδύειν ναῦν does not mean 'to sink a ship to the bottom,' but to make her water-logged, so that she was useless, although she did not absolutely go down. The Greek triremes were so light and shallow, that they would float in a manner under water, or rather with parts of the vessel still out of water, on which the crew used to take refuge. This appears from a passage in Herodotus, VIII. 90, where the crew of a ship, that had been sunk as far as it would sink, were still able to throw their javelins from it with such effect, that they cleared the deck of the ship which had sunk them, and actually took her."

**P. 35.** μέγας γενόμενος] Jelf, § 714. 1. c.

§ 36. ὁ ὑπηρετικὸς κέλης] "despatch-boat," "tender": cp. Demosth. 1221 ἀφικνεῖται ἐκ Μεθώνης τῆς Μακεδονίας ὑπηρετικὸν εἰς Θάσον ἄγον ἄνδρα καὶ ἐπιστολάς.

ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν κ.τ.λ.] Compare the conduct of Agesilaus, *Hell.* IV. 3. 13.

§ 37. *κατέπλεον*] Cp. note, II. 2. 23.

*ἔθυε τὰ εὐαγγέλια*] Cp. Arist. *Eq.* 654 ἄνδρες, ἤδη μοι δοκεῖ Ἐπὶ συμφοραῖς ἀγαθαῖσιν εἰσηγγελμέναις Εὐαγγέλια θύειν ἑκατὸν βοῦς τῇ Θεῷ. *Hell.* IV. 3. 14 ἐβουθύτει ὡς εὐαγγέλια. So θύειν ἐπινίκια, διαβατήρια, γενέθλια, Λύκαια, γάμους. Jelf, § 560. 4.

*τοῖς ἐμπόροις*] sc. the masters of the trading-ships, which followed the fleet.

*τὰ χρήματα*] "merchandise." Cp. Thuc. III. 74. 2 ὥστε καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ ἐμπόρων κατεκαύθη.

*τὰς τριήρεις*] sc. ἀποπλεῖν.

§ 38. *τὰ περὶ τοῦ Ἐτεονίκου*] Cp. *Hell.* VI. 1. 19 ὅθεν εἰς τὰς περὶ Ἰάσονος πράξεις ἐξέβην (made a digression).

c. VII. § 1. *ἐν οἴκῳ*] more commonly οἴκοι. Cp. 5. 16.

**P. 36.** § 2. *Ἀρχέδημος*] ridiculed by Eupolis and Aristophanes, and charged with having embezzled public money.

*διωβελίας*] "largess of two obols (for theatrical entertainments)."

*ἐπιβολὴν ἐπιβαλὼν*] The ἐπιβολή was a limited fine which the various magistrates at Athens might impose without reference to a judicial tribunal.

§ 4. *Θηραμένης*] Theramenes, son of Hagnon, we find (Thuc. VIII. 68. 4) conspiring against the democracy and described by Thucydides as ἀνὴρ οὔτε εἰπεῖν οὔτε γνῶναι ἀδύνατος. He subsequently led the more moderate aristocrats (*id.* VIII. 89. 2), and even asserted that the oligarchy had invited the Peloponnesian fleet. Eetionia, a fort at the mouth of the Piræus, was destroyed by the people at his suggestion (*id.* VIII. 92. 10). He afterwards joined Alcibiades (*supr.* 1. 12) with twenty ships from Macedonia, and having shared the victory at Cyzicus, was left in charge of Chrysopolis (1. 22).

*δικαίους εἶναι λόγον ὑποσχεῖν*] Lat. "*dignos esse qui* c. subj." Jelf, § 667.

*οὐκ ἀνείλοντο*] "had not picked up." For this pluperfect use of the aorist, cp. Thuc. I. 50. 1 τὰ σκάφη τῶν νεῶν ἃς καταδύσειαν: II. 98. 2 ἐπορεύετο τῇ ὁδῷ ἣν πρότερον αὐτὸς ἐποιήσατο: VIII. 93. 1 τόν τε Ἀλεξικλέα ὃν ξυνέλαβον ἀφέντες. Where there is no continuance in the effects resulting from the completed action which is represented as having occurred, the pluperfect is not used but some other simple past tense. Cp. II. 2. 3; 3. 20. Jelf, § 404.

*τοὺς ναυαγούς*] "the shipwrecked crews," i.e. living men

who had suffered shipwreck. Grote (VII. p. 417) calls attention to the fact that the question is not about picking up *dead* bodies but *living* men (cp. πλεῖν ἐπὶ τὰς καταδεδυκυίας ναῦς καὶ τοὺς ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἀνθρώπους, 6. 35). "Ναυαγὸς," he says, "corresponds to the Latin '*naufragus*'—*mersa rate naufragus assem Dum rogat, et picta se tempestate tuetur* (Juv. XIV. 301)."

§ 5. οἱ στρατηγοὶ...ἕκαστος ἀπελογήσατο] Cp. Hdt. VII. 104 τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν, οἳ Ἑλλήνων ἕκαστός φησι τριῶν ἄξιος εἶναι. The number of the verb is not regulated by the whole subject, but by the apposed particulars. Jelf, § 478. Cp. *Anab.* I. 8. 9 πάντες δὲ οὗτοι κατὰ ἔθνη ἐν πλαισίῳ πλήρει ἀνθρώπων ἕκαστον τὸ ἔθνος ἐπορεύετο. We find the converse *Anab.* IV. 2. 12, ὅπῃ ἐδύναντο ἕκαστος οἱ βάρβαροι ἐτόξευον καὶ ἔβαλλον.

οὐ γὰρ...νόμον] i.e. the formal trial had not come on yet, where they would have a set time measured by the κλεψύδρα or water-clock for defence.

ἱκανοῖς] "competent."

ἐστρατηγηκόσιν ἤδη] "who had already held command," i.e. not belonging to those ἄρτι συνιέντων τὰ ναυτικά, 6. 4.

§ 6. δέοι] sc. αἰτιάσασθαι.

**P. 37.** παρείχοντο] "were ready to bring forward."

§ 7. ἔπειθον] "were in a fair way to persuade." Sturz misses the force of the imperfect in giving πείθειν (in this one passage) the meaning "*mitigare*," "*placare*." Cp. *Anab.* VII. 3. 7 ἔπειθον (tried to persuade) ἀποτρέπεσθαι. οἱ δ' οὐκ ὑπήκουον.

ἀναβαλέσθαι] "make an adjournment."

τὰς χεῖρας οὐκ ἂν καθεώρων] "they would not have seen *clearly* (κατὰ, cp. κατάδηλος, &c.) the show of hands." The method of voting by show of hands (χειροτονία) was employed chiefly in the election of magistrates chosen in the public assemblies, in voting upon laws, and in certain trials on matters which concerned the people. The other decision of the people was given by ballot, i.e. by casting pebbles into urns (ὑδρίαι, κάδισκοι). Cp. 7. 9; II. 4. 9.

εἰσενεγκεῖν] "bring in a motion."

§ 8. ἐγίγνετο Ἀπατούρια] Thucydides (I. 126. 5) uses a plural verb (according to many Manuscripts) with the neuter plural substantive of festivals, which some explain by imagining a plurality of spectacles. The use of the imperfect here seems to confirm such an explanation, as denoting the continuance of the several events of the festival. The Apaturian festival

(α=ἅμα, πατόρια) was celebrated by all Greeks of the Ionian name excepting those of Colophon and Ephesus. Cp. Hdt. I. 147 εἰσὶ δὲ πάντες Ἴωνες, ὅσοι ἀπ' Ἀθηνῶν γεγόνασι καὶ Ἀπατούρια ἄγουσι ὁρτήν· ἄγουσι δὲ πάντες πλὴν Ἐφεσίων καὶ Κολοφωνίων. On the first day of the festival members of the same φρατρία (clan) assembled together to eat a supper of sausages. Cp. Arist. *Ach.* 146, 7 ὁ δ' υἱὸς (Sadocus), ὃν Ἀθηναῖον ἐπεποιήμεθα, Ἤρα φαγεῖν ἀλλᾶντας ἐξ Ἀπατουρίων. The second day was called ἀνάρρυσις, when sacrifice was offered to Zeus Phratrios and Athena. On the third day (κουρεῶτις) grown up youths were enrolled among the φράτερες: cp. Arist. *Av.* 1669 ἤδη σ' ὁ πατὴρ εἰσήγαγ' ἐς τοὺς φράτερας; Theophrastus represents the garrulous man (ἀδολέσχης) as displaying his knowledge that this festival was held in the month of Pyanepsion.

οἱ περὶ τὸν Θηραμένην] "Theramenes and his party." Cp. Thuc. VIII. 63. 3 οἱ περὶ τὸν Πείσανδρον πρέσβεις. The preposition ἀμφὶ is also thus used, II. 3. 46. Jelf, § 632. 3. 1. b.

μέλανα ἱμάτια...κεκαρμένους] These were the two especial signs of mourning: cp. Eur. *Hel.* 1087 ἐγὼ δ' ἐς οἴκους βᾶσα βοστρύχους τεμῶ, Πέπλων τε λευκῶν μέλανας ἀνταλλάξομαι. *Iph. A.* 1438 μήτ' οὖν γε τὸν σὸν πλόκαμον ἐκτέμῃς τριχὸς Μήτ' ἀμφὶ σῶμα μέλανας ἀμπίσχῃ πέπλους. The Barbarians even cut off their hair and the manes of their horses in sign of public mourning: cp. Hdt. IX. 24; Eur. *Alc.* 428.

ἐν χρῷ κεκαρμένους] "closely shaven." Cp. Hdt. IV. 175 οἳ λόφους κείρονται, τὸ μὲν μέσον τῶν τριχῶν ἀνιέντες αὔξεσθαι τὰ δὲ ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν κείροντες ἐν χροΐ.

ὡς δή] "in pretence that they were." Cp. II. 3. 13; 3. 18.

§ 9. τήνδε] "as follows."

§ 10. τοῖς ἕνδεκα] Socrates asks (Plat. *Apol.* 37 C) why he should be content to live in prison and serve a board of these magistrates elected annually (τῇ ἀεὶ καθισταμένῃ ἀρχῇ).

τῆς θεοῦ] Athena.

§ 11. φάσκων] Cp. note, 4. 6.

**P. 38.** § 12. παράνομα συγγεγραφέναι] "had proposed an unconstitutional measure," and was therefore liable to an indictment (γραφὴ παρανόμων) for violating the spirit or letter of any existing law.

δεινὸν εἶναι] "it was monstrous."

τις] sc. Euryptolemus and his party. Cp. note, II. 3. 17.

§ 13. ἐπὶ τούτοις] sc. μετὰ ταῦτα.

*ἀφῶσι τὴν κλῆσιν*] "abandon the indictment."

§ 14. *καλεῖν*] "would summon."

§ 15. *Σωκράτους*] Xenophon tells us (*Mem.* I. 1. 18) that Socrates was chief president (*ἐπιστάτης*) on this occasion. Socrates himself says (Plat. *Apol.* 32 A—C) *ἐγὼ γάρ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἄλλην μὲν ἀρχὴν οὐδεμίαν πώποτε ἦρξα ἐν τῇ πόλει, ἐβούλευσα δέ* (was member of the council of 500)· *καὶ ἔτυχεν ἡμῶν ἡ φυλὴ Ἀντιοχὶς πρυτανεύουσα, ὅτε ὑμεῖς τοὺς δέκα στρατηγοὺς τοὺς οὐκ ἀνελομένους τοὺς ἐκ τῆς ναυμαχίας ἐβούλεσθε ἀθρόους κρίνειν, παρανόμως, ὡς ἐν τῷ ὑστέρῳ χρόνῳ πᾶσιν ὑμῖν ἔδοξε. τότ' ἐγὼ μόνος τῶν πρυτάνεων ἠναντιώθην ὑμῖν μηδὲν ποιεῖν παρὰ τοὺς νόμους, καὶ ἐναντία ἐψηφισάμην· καὶ ἑτοίμων ὄντων ἐνδεικνύναι με καὶ ἀπάγειν τῶν ῥητόρων, καὶ ὑμῶν κελευόντων καὶ βοώντων, μετὰ τοῦ νόμου καὶ τοῦ δικαίου ᾤμην μᾶλλόν με δεῖν διακινδυνεύειν ἢ μεθ' ὑμῶν γενέσθαι μὴ δίκαια βουλευσομένων, φοβηθέντα δεσμὸν ἢ θάνατον.*

§ 17. *ἔπεισαν*] sc. *μὴ πέμπειν.* Cobet reads *μετέπεισαν*, but we may compare Thuc. III. 32. 3 *καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐπείσθη τε* (was over-persuaded) *καὶ Χίων ἄνδρας ὅσους εἶχεν ἔτι ἀφῆκε.*

§ 18. *εἶτα*] "accordingly," "in consequence."

**P. 39.** § 19. *σφᾶς αὐτοὺς*] sc. *ὑμᾶς αὐτούς.* Cp. § 29 *ἑαυτῶν ὄντας τοὺς νόμους.*

*εἰδότες*] "in full possession of the facts."

§ 20. *ἀποδικεῖν*] "*causam dicere.*"

*τὸ βάραθρον*] This pit, into which criminals were cast at Athens, answered to the Spartan *καιάδας*. The envoys whom Darius sent to ask earth and water (Hdt. VII. 133) were cast by the Athenians into this pit, and told to fetch it up thence for the Great King.

**P. 40.** § 23. *τριῶν μερῶν*] Cp. Dem. *F. L.* 378 *πρὸς διαμεμετρημένην τὴν ἡμέραν αἱρεῖς διώκων.*

§ 24. *οὐκ ἀδικοῦντες ἀπολοῦνται*] "will not be put to death as guilty (*ἀδικοῦντες*, in the character of *ἄδικοι*)." The negative here must be taken in close connexion with *ἀπολοῦνται*, as in *Hell.* III. 5. 18 *οὐκέτι ἡσυχίαν ἔχων ἀνέμενε τὸ ἀπὸ Λακεδαίμονος στράτευμα.* Cobet reads *ἀδίκως.* Cp. *Anab.* V. 7. 29 *εἰ μὲν ἀδικεῖ ὑμᾶς*, "if he is guilty of having wronged you." Thuc. III. 65. 2 *ἀδικοῦμεν*, "we are guilty."

§ 26. *τί δὲ καὶ δεδιότες*] Cp. note, II. 3. 47.

*σφόδρα οὕτως ἐπείγεσθε*] Pausanias (VI. 7. 2) brings a charge

of reckless haste (προπέτεια) against the Athenians in this matter. Such a charge is certainly not unfounded when we consider also their decree that the whole Mitylenæan people should be put to death, and their subsequent remorse on the following day, owing to which, upon the motion of Diodotus and after an illegal assembly, a second ship being despatched arrived only just in time to prevent the execution of the decree (Thuc. III. 36—49). Cp. Arist. *Ach.* 630 ἐν Ἀθηναίοις ταχυβούλοις...632 πρὸς Ἀθηναίους μεταβούλους.

§ 27. ἀλλ' ἴσως...ὕστερον] Cp. note, § 26.

ἤδη] "by that time."

θανάτου ἀνθρώπου] "a man's life ('*capitis*')."

§ 28. Ἀριστάρχῳ] Aristarchus was an extreme opponent of the democracy, ἀνὴρ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα καὶ ἐκ πλείστου ἐναντίος τῷ δήμῳ (Thuc. VIII. 90. 1). On his flight from Athens he betrayed Œnoe to the Bœotians (*id.* VIII. 98. 3).

τὸν δῆμον] sc. τὴν δημοκρατίαν.

κατὰ γνώμην] "according to your satisfaction," "*ex sententia.*"

**P. 41.** § 29. εἰς τὴν γῆν] sc. εἰς τὰς Ἀργινούσας (6. 33).

ἐπὶ κέρως] "in column": Arnold on Thuc. II. 90. 4 (ἰδόντες δὲ οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι κατὰ μίαν ἐπὶ κέρως παραπλέοντας) says "this term generally, I think, denotes a long thin column of men or ships; sometimes, however, a long thin line. The notion of extension and thinness is equally preserved in a single rank and in a single file; but usage has generally applied the term ἐπὶ κέρως to the latter." Cp. note, II. 1. 23.

γενέσθαι] Cp. note, 6. 14.

§ 30. δοξάντων τούτων] Cp. note, 1. 36.

§ 31. κατηγόρει] "was the accuser of." Cp. note, 2. 1.

οὐχ ἱκανῶς καὶ καλῶς] Dindorf thinks the words καὶ καλῶς a gloss, comparing Plato's frequent use of the simple ἱκανῶς.

§ 32. ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτομάτου] "by chance." Cp. Plat. *Apol.* 40 D, where Socrates οὐδὲ τὰ ἐμὰ νῦν ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτομάτου (*casu*) γέγονεν.

ὧν] sc. ἐστίν.

**P. 42.** § 33. τῶν ἐκ θεοῦ ἀναγκαίων] sc. the bad weather (ὁ χειμών, § 32). Cp. Theophr. *Char.* 25 (where the coward asks the steersman) τί αὐτῷ δοκεῖ τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ.

*γεραίρειν*] Cp. note, 1. 5.

§ 34. *ἡ δὲ τῆς βουλῆς ἦν*] sc. *ἡ γνώμη.*

*ὑπομοσαμένου*] "having taken objection on oath."

§ 35. *προβολὰς*] "vote by the public Assembly of impeachment."

*ἐδέθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγγυησαμένων*] In case a person accused in a public action failed to appear, his surety became liable to any punishment that such person had incurred by contempt of court; and so the law allowed the surety to hold the person of the accused in confinement till the day for his appearance.

## BOOK II.

**P. 43.** c. I. § 1. *ἀπό τε τῆς ὥρας*] "*on* the fruits of the season (*τῶν ὡραίων*)." Cp. Thuc. I. 120. 3 *τὴν κατακομιδὴν τῶν ὡραίων.* III. 58. 4 *ὅσα τε ἡ γῆ ἡμῶν ἀνεδίδου ὡραῖα.* So *ὀπώρα* is used for "fruit," *infr.* 4. 25. For the preposition *ἀπὸ*, cp. Hdt. I. 216 *ἀπὸ κτηνέων ζώουσι καὶ ἰχθύων.* Thucydides uses the compound *ἀποζῆν* (I. 2. 2). Cp. *infr.* 3. 12 *ἀπὸ συκοφαντίας ζῶντας.* For a similar construction of the sentence, cp. *Anab.* VI. 1. 1 *οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἔζων, οἱ δὲ καὶ λῃζόμενοι ἐκ τῆς Παφλαγονίας.*

*γυμνοὶ*] "lightly clad." Cp. Lat. "*nudus.*"

*ἐδόκει*] "it was agreed upon."

§ 2. *σύνθημα*] This commonly means "the watchword," "*tessera militaris*," which was given out before battle, and passed down the ranks: cp. Hdt. IX. 98 *τοῦ συνθήματος Ἥβης.* Xen. *Anab.* I. 8. 16 *ἤρετο ὅ τι καὶ εἴη τὸ σύνθημα· ὁ δ' ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι Ζεὺς Σωτὴρ καὶ Νίκη.* VI. 5. 25 *ἐκ τούτου σύνθημα παρῄει Ζεὺς Σωτήρ, Ἡρακλῆς Ἡγεμών.* VII. 3. 39 *σύνθημα δ' εἶπον Ἀθηναίαν.* Here however it appears to be equivalent to *συνθήκη*, "agreement": cp. *Anab.* IV. 6. 20 *καὶ σύνθημα ἐποιήσαντο, ὅποτε ἔχοιεν τὰ ἄκρα, πυρὰ καίειν πολλά.* *Hell.* V. 4. 6 *ἦν δὲ σύνθημα, ἐπεὶ καθίζοιντο, παίειν εὐθὺς ἀνακαλυψαμένους.*

*ἀπόρως εἶχε*] Cp. note, I. 5. 8.

*τί χρῷτο τῷ πράγματι*] "how to deal with the matter."

*τὰ πράγματα*] "the cause."

§ 3. *ὀφθαλμιῶντι...ἀπιόντι...ἔχοντι*] The absence of any connecting particle brings forward each notion as distinct and emphatic. Jelf, § 467. 6.

§ 4. *ἀπέθανεν*] "had been killed." Cp. 3. 24.

*ἀεὶ ὁ ἀκούων*] "each one as he heard the news (successively)." Cp. 4. 8 *τὸν δὲ ἀπογραψάμενον ἀεί.*

P. 44. § 5. *ἐσήμηνεν*] It is difficult to say whether *ὁ Ἐτεόνικος* is the subject to *ἐσήμηνεν* (cp. 1. 22 *Λύσανδρος...ἐσήμηνεν*) or whether the subject is implied in the predicate, sc. *ὁ σαλπιγκτής*. Jelf, § 373. 2. We have the full phrase, *Anab.* IV. 3. 29 *ἐπειδὰν δ' ὁ σαλπιγκτὴς σημήνῃ τὸ πολεμικόν.*

*ἐν μέρει*] Cp. *ἀνὰ μέρος, κατὰ μέρος.*

§ 6. *εὖ φερόμενον*] Cp. note, I. 5. 17.

§ 7. *ἐπιστολέα*] "vice-admiral": cp. note, I. 1. 23.

§ 8. *οὐ διέωσαν κ.τ.λ.*] "they had not thrust their hands through the sleeve (of their loose tunic)." Probably the sleeve would be wide and flowing, and on ordinary occasions would either hang at the side, or be thrown back over the shoulder: in the present case they would cover their arms with it as a mark of respect. A similar garment is still retained amongst the neighbouring nations. Cp. *Cyr.* VIII. 3. 10 *καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς δὲ πάντες παρῆσαν καταβεβηκότες ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων, καὶ διειρκότες τὰς χεῖρας διὰ τῶν κανδύων, ὥσπερ καὶ νῦν διείρουσιν, ὅταν ὁρᾷ βασιλεύς.* So the king alone might wear his bonnet erect: cp. Arist. *Av.* 486, 7 *διὰ ταῦτ' ἄρ' ἔχων καὶ νῦν ὥσπερ βασιλεὺς ὁ μέγας διαβάσκει Ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς τὴν κυρβασίαν τῶν ὀρνίθων μόνος ὀρθήν.* *Anab.* II. 5. 23.

*χειρίς*] The Persians serving in the grand army of the invasion are represented (Hdt. VII. 61) as wearing *περὶ τὸ σῶμα κιθῶνας χειριδωτοὺς ποικίλους.* The old Manuscript reading here is *ἡ χειρός.* I have ventured to enclose this explanation of the *κόρη* in brackets (cp. a similar explanation of the *κόθορνος*, 3. 31), ranking it among Cobet's "*insulsa sciolorum additamenta.*"

*ἔχων*] sc. *τις*. Cp. *Hell.* III. 1. 19 *παρὰ τοῦ ἄρχοντος αὐτῶν ἧκε λέγων (τις) ὅτι ὅσα λέγοιεν οἱ πρόσθεν καὶ αὐτῷ δοκοῦντα λέγοιεν.* Jelf, § 373. 6. Cobet reads *ἔχων τις.* The omission is common in Aristotle.

§ 9. *Ἱεραμένης*] mentioned by Thucydides (VIII. 58. 1) as sharing in the treaty of Tissaphernes with the Lacedæmonians.

P. 45. § 10. *Ἀντάνδρῳ*] Cp. note, I. 1. 25.

§ 11. πλείω πολλῷ] Jelf, § 609. 1.

§ 13. μετεπέμψατο] sc. to Sardis.

§ 13. Καδουσίων] dwelling on the west coast of the Caspian sea.

§ 14. τούτου ἕνεκεν] Cp. note, I. 1. 24.

**P. 46.** § 15. Κεράμειον] Cp. I. 4. 8 τὸν Κεραμικὸν κόλπον.

ὄνομα] Cp. I. 6. 29 ὀνόματι Ἱππεύς. Jelf, § 579. 4.

προσβολῇ] Dindorf would strike out this word, alleging that it cannot be taken in connection with either τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ or κατὰ κράτος. Cp. note I. 1. 14. But why cannot προσβολῇ be taken with τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ? Cp. Poppo on Thuc. VII. 11. 2 μάχῃ τῇ μὲν πρώτῃ...τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ. V. 46. 1 τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ. Demosthenes gives us κατὰ κράτος in close connection with ἐκ προσβολῆς: *F. L.* 360 τὸ μηδεμίαν τῶν πόλεων τῶν ἐν Φωκεῦσιν ἁλῶναι πολιορκίᾳ μηδ' ἐκ προσβολῆς κατὰ κράτος (where see Shilleto's epigrammatic note), so that on all hands we must not concur lightly in Dindorf's "*manifesto tollendum.*"

κατὰ κράτος] Cp. note, I. 6. 13.

αἱρεῖ καὶ ἐξηνδραπόδισεν] "The more important action, represented by the Historic Present, is brought vividly before our eyes, while the less important is allowed to pass rapidly by in the Aorist." Jelf, § 401. 6. The Present seems to convey the general statement, while the Past tense singles out some particular incident in close connection with it: cp. *Anab.* IV. 6. 22 οἱ μὲν ταχθέντες ᾤχοντο, καὶ καταλαμβάνουσι τὸ ὄρος. V. 8. 6 ἀναγιγνώσκει τε αὐτὸν καὶ ἤρετο. Thuc. VII. 83. 4 οἱ Συρακόσιοι αἰσθάνονται καὶ ἐπαιώνισαν.

μιξοβάρβαροι] Cp. Eur. *Phœn.* 137 ὡς ἀλλόχρως ὅπλοισι, μιξοβάρβαρος.

§ 16. ὁρμώμενοι] Cp. note, I. 4. 23.

τὴν βασιλέως] sc. χώραν. Cp. note, I. 1. 24.

πρὸς τοῖς ὑπάρχουσι] in addition to Conon, Adimantus, and Philocles (I. 7. 1).

§ 17. πρός τε τῶν πλοίων τὸν ἔκπλουν] "both to watch the sailing out of the merchant vessels," "*naves onerariæ*," as distinguished from "*naves longæ.*" Cp. Thuc. IV. 116. 2 τοῖς τε πλοίοις καὶ ταῖς ναυσί.

πελάγιοι] "keeping the open sea." Cp. Thuc. VIII. 101. 1 οὐ πελάγιαι, ἵνα μὴ περιτύχωσι ταῖς ἐν τῇ Ἐρέσῳ ναυσὶν, ἀλλὰ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τὴν Λέσβον ἔχοντες ἔπλεον ἐπὶ τὴν ἤπειρον.

§ 18. Ἀβύδου] a colony from Miletus: Thuc. VIII. 61. 1 Ἄβυδον ἀποστήσων (εἰσὶ δὲ Μιλησίων ἄποικοι). Strabo says that the inhabitants came from Cyzicus.

Θώραξ] Plutarch tells us (*Lysand.* c. 19) that this Thorax (ἀργύριον ἰδίᾳ κεκτημένον) met his death at the hands of the Lacedæmonians on the complaints of Pharnabazus respecting Lysander's system of oppression.

§ 19. σώματα] Cp. for this use of σώματα (ἄνθρωποι) Dem. c. *Lept.* 480 τρισχίλια δ' αἰχμάλωτα σώματα δεῦρ' ἤγαγε. *de Cor.* 231 οὔτε χρήμασι οὔτε σώμασιν (*troops*) οὔτ' ἄλλῳ οὐδενὶ τῶν ἁπάντων συνελάμβανον ὑμῖν.

§ 20. κατὰ πόδας] "in close pursuit." Cp. Thuc. VIII. 17. 3 καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι κατὰ πόδας μιᾶς δεούσαις εἴκοσι ναυσὶν ἐπιπλεύσαντες.

τῆς Χερρονήσου] Partitive Genitive of place. Cp. I. 2. 14 εἱργμένοι τοῦ Πειραιῶς ἐν λιθοτομίαις. *Anab.* I. 2. 7 εἰς Κελαινὰς τῆς Φρυγίας. II. 2. 6 ἐξ Ἐφέσου τῆς Ἰωνίας. Thuc. VIII. 100. 3 Ἔρεσος τῆς Λέσβου.

§ 21. διέχει] The Manuscripts here give διεῖχε, but the breadth of the Hellespont must have remained the same. So in Thuc. I. 63. 2, ἀπέχει not ἀπεῖχε seems to be correct: διέχετον not διείχετον, *id.* II. 86. 3 (where the distance between Rhium and Antirrhium could not have varied between the time of which Thucydides was speaking, and that at which he wrote). Several Manuscripts give ἀπεῖχον for ἀπέχον, Thuc. VII. 34. 8. Jelf however (§ 398. 1. *Obs.* 3) believes that the imperfect is used in consequence of the present fact being stated with reference to past circumstances.

**P. 47.** § 22. παραβλήματα] Cp. note, I. 6. 19.

§ 23. ἀνίσχοντι] This is the usual form in this phrase: cp. Hdt. III. 98 ἔστι τῆς Ἰνδικῆς χώρης τὸ πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα ψάμμος. However Xenophon gives us ἅμ' ἡλίῳ ἀνέχοντι, *Cyn.* 6. 13.

ἐν μετώπῳ] sc. μετωπηδόν, "in line," opposed to ἐπὶ κέρως, "in column (I. 7. 29)."

§ 24. ἐξεβίβασεν] sc. τοὺς ναύτας. For the omission of the object, cp. I. 6. 20.

§ 25. ἐκ τῶν τειχῶν] Cp. note, I. 5. 17.

πεντεκαίδεκα σταδίους] nearly two miles.

ἐν καλῷ] Cp. Thuc. V. 59. 4 ἐν καλῷ ἐδόκει ἡ μάχη ἔσεσθαι.

§ 26. *αὐτοὶ γὰρ...ἐκεῖνον*] Many Manuscripts here give *αὐτούς*. *Αὐτοί*, if not universal, is more congenial to the Greek idiom, as referring to the subject of the sentence: cp. 2. 17 *οὐ γὰρ εἶναι κύριος...ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐφόρους*. Cp. also Thuc. IV. 28. 2 *οὐκ ἔφη αὐτὸς ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνον στρατηγεῖν*. When however the subject has not yet been mentioned, the accusative is correct, as in Thuc. VI. 4. 2 *πρὶν δὲ ἀναστῆναι, ἔτεσιν ὕστερον ἑκατὸν ἢ αὐτοὺς οἰκῆσαι, Πάμιλλον πέμψαντες Σελινοῦντα κτίζουσι*.

*ᾤχετο*] Cp. note, I. 1. 8. The Imperfect of *ἥκω* is also used in an Aorist sense: cp. *Anab.* I. 2. 6; II. 3. 17. Thuc. VI. 30. 2 *οἱ δὲ ξένοι καὶ ὁ ἄλλος ὄχλος κατὰ θέαν ἧκεν*.

§ 27. *ἐπεὶ ἦν...'Αθηναίοις*] Cp. note, I. 4. 7.

P. 48. *τοὔμπαλιν*] Cobet reads *εἰς τοὔμπαλιν*. Herodotus writes *τὰ ἔμπαλιν, τἄμπαλιν*.

*ἆραι ἀσπίδα*] The Alcmæonidæ had the credit of inviting the Persians to sail round the promontory of Sunium and occupy Athens by a similar signal after the battle of Marathon: cp. Hdt. VI. 115 *τούτους γὰρ συνθεμένους τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι ἀναδέξαι ἀσπίδα ἐοῦσι ἤδη ἐν τῇσι νηυσί*.

§ 28. *κατὰ κράτος*] Cp. note, I. 6. 13.

*διεσκεδασμένων...ὄντων*] Cp. note, I. 2. 2.

*δίκροτοι...μονόκροτοι*] "with two tiers of rowers...with one tier." Each trireme had three ranks of rowers (*θρανῖται, ζυγῖται, θαλαμιοί*). Thucydides (I. 13. 2) credits the Corinthians with the invention of triremes. Vessels with more than three ranks of rowers were not constructed in Greece till after the Peloponnesian war, when Dionysius I. built *τετρήρεις* about 400 B.C. Subsequently we find *πεντήρεις, ἑξήρεις* and even a *τεσσαρακοντήρης*.

*ἡ Πάραλος*] The Paralus and the Salaminia were the two state-triremes at Athens. Their crews were composed of free citizens, and received four obols *per diem*, i.e. one obol more than the usual pay.

§ 29. *τὰ μεγάλα ἱστία*] Cp. note, I. 1. 13.

*Εὐαγόραν*] prince of Salamis.

*ἀπαγγέλλουσα*] Cp. note, 4. 37. The action, which reaches into future time, is viewed as now beginning in act or intention: cp. Eur. *Androm.* 820, 1 *καὶ μὴν ἐν οἴκοις προσπόλων ἀκούομεν Βοὴν ἐφ' οἷσιν ἦλθες ἀγγέλλουσα σύ*. Jelf, § 705. 6. ε.

P. 49. § 31. *τὴν δεξιὰν χεῖρα ἀποκόπτειν*] Cicero (*de Off.* III. 11) refers to a similar decree as having been made with respect to the Æginetans: "*durius etiam Athenienses, qui*

*sciverunt ut Æginetis qui classe valebant, pollices præciderentur.*"

§ 32. ὅσοι ἦσαν] Pausanias says four thousand.

ᾐτιάθη μέντοι κ.τ.λ.] Demosthenes (*de F. L.* 401) tells us that Conon actually preferred an accusation against Adimantus. Cp. for the passive sense (usually, αἰτίαν ἔχειν) Thuc. VI. 53. 2 αἰτιαθέντα ἀνέλεγκτον διαφυγεῖν. VIII. 68. 2 ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τουτων αἰτιαθείς.

ἀρξάμενος] "having made a beginning (for himself and others)," not "having been the first," which would be ἄρξας, as *Hell.* VI. 5. 37 τίνες ἦσαν οἱ ἄρξαντες ἀδικεῖν. Ἄρχειν = "make a beginning" (cp. ἄρχειν ἀδικίας, ἀδίκων χειρῶν, "be the aggressor," &c.), ἄρχεσθαι = "make a beginning for oneself." So Thuc. I. 144. 2 πολέμου δὲ οὐκ ἄρξομεν, ἀρχομένους δὲ ἀμυνούμεθα, "we will not be the first to open hostilities, but if they begin the war (for themselves and others), we will resist them:" *infr.* 3. 38 ἐπεὶ δέ γε οὗτοι ἤρξαντο (*quum cœpissent*) ἄνδρας καλούς τε κἀγαθοὺς συλλαμβάνειν. Cp. *Anab.* I. 6. 5 ἄρχειν τοῦ λόγου, "open *the* conference;" III. 2. 7 τοῦ λόγου δὲ ἤρχετο ὧδε, "began *his* speech thus."

ἀπέσφαξεν] Plutarch tells us (*Lysand.* 13) that Philocles refused to answer the question of Lysander, and walked in a bright cloak to execution at the head of the prisoners.

c. II. § 1. οἱ προδόντες] Cp. I. 3. 14, sqq.

ἐγένοντο Ἀθηναῖοι] i.e. received the Athenian franchise. Cp. Thuc. II. 67. 2 τὸν Σάδοκον τὸν γεγενημένον Ἀθηναῖον.

§ 2. εἴ τινά που ἄλλον] This would include the κληροῦχοι. or citizens to whom conquered lands had been allotted. Cp. *Memor.* II. 8. 1 ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἀφῃρέθημεν τὰ ἐν τῇ ὑπερορίᾳ κτήματα (ὑπὸ τὴν κατάλυσιν τοῦ πολέμου).

εἰδὼς ὅτι...ἔσεσθαι] Xenophon (as Shilleto says on Thuc. I. 43. 2) not unfrequently departs from his country's usage in these matters. Thucydides himself has a confusion (IV. 37. 1) between γνοὺς διαφθαρητομένους and γνοὺς ὅτι διαφθαρήσονται. Cp. *Hell.* III. 4. 27 τοιῷδε λογισμῷ ὡς...εἶναι. Jelf, § 804. 7.

P. 50. § 3. ὁ ἕτερος...παραγγέλλων] not exactly a nominative absolute, but in apposition to and explanatory of οἰμωγή, thus taking the place of a following genitive. Cp. Thuc. V. 70. 1 ἡ ξύνοδος ἦν, Ἀργεῖοι μὲν καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἐντόνως καὶ ὀργῇ χωροῦντες—, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ βραδέως. Soph. *Antig.* 259, 60 λόγοι δ' ἐν ἀλλήλοισιν ἐρρόθουν κακοί, Φύλαξ ἐλέγχων φύλακα. Jelf, § 708. 1.

πενθοῦντες] sc. πάντες.

ἐποίησαν] Cp. note, I. 7. 4.

§ 5. κατεσκευάσατο] by establishing a δεκαδαρχία or government of ten in connexion with the Lacedæmonian harmost: Plut. *Lysand.* 13 ἕνα μὲν ἁρμοστὴν ἑκάστῃ Λακεδαιμόνιον κατέλιπεν, δέκα δ' ἄρχοντας ἐκ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ συγκεκροτημένων κατὰ πόλιν ἑταιριῶν. Cp. Arist. *Pol.* v. 7. 14 οἱ μὲν γὰρ 'Αθηναῖοι πανταχοῦ τὰς ὀλιγαρχίας, οἱ δὲ Λάκωνες τοὺς δήμους κατέλυον.

τὰ ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης χωρία] including the Athenian possessions along the northern coast of the Ægæan from Thessaly to the Hellespont. Jelf, § 633. 1. c.

§ 6. σφαγὰς...πόλιν] "having made (on a former occasion) a massacre of the notables, were still keeping possession (not κατέσχον, cp. 1. 2 τὴν πόλιν κατασχόντες) of the city." This former occasion Grote refers to Thuc. VIII. 21, by which the island was firmly secured to the alliance of Athens. Οἱ γνώριμοι are opposed to ὁ δῆμος. Aristotle calls them καλοὶ κἀγαθοί ("gentlemen").

§ 7. ἔπεμψε] "sent word."

**P. 51.** § 8. τῷ καλουμένῳ γυμνασίῳ] not exactly "in the gymnasium called the Academy," but, "in the Academy, as that gymnasium is called." Cobet omits these words as spurious.

§ 9. τῆς αὐτῶν] sc. γῆς, πατρίδος. Cp. note, I. 1. 24.

ἐστέροντο] "were lacking (had been deprived of)."

§ 10. ἐκείνοις] sc. the Peloponnesians.

§ 11. τοὺς ἀτίμους ἐπιτίμους ποιήσαντες] Such a decree as the present one (proposed by Patroclides) had never been submitted to the people since the advance of Xerxes in the Persian war. It consisted in the restoration of those who had become ἄτιμοι, i.e. judicially deprived owing to crime of civil rights and privileges (Lat. "*ærarii*"), to their rights and franchises. The ἄτιμοι could not hold office, speak in the senate or assembly, bring actions, appear as witnesses, or claim any state-protection. A law mentioned by Demosthenes ordained that the releasing of ἄτιμοι should never be proposed in the public assembly unless an assembly of at least 6000 citizens had previously in secret deliberation agreed that such might be done. Thucydides tells us that the Spartans in Sphacteria who had surrendered to the Athenians were punished with a temporary ἀτιμία: v. 34. 2 ἀτίμους ἐποίησαν, ἀτιμίαν δὲ τοιάνδε

*ὥστε μήτε ἄρχειν μήτε πριαμένους τι ἢ πωλοῦντας κυρίους εἶναι· ὕστερον δὲ αὖθις χρόνῳ ἐπίτιμοι ἐγένοντο.*

§ 12. *οὐ γὰρ εἶναι κύριος αὐτός*] "for that he had not full powers (to treat)."

§ 13. *αὐτόθεν*] "on the spot."

P. 52. § 15. *ἐβούλετο*] The best Manuscripts here give *ἐβούλετο*, not *ἠβούλετο*. *Supr.* I. 1. 29 one Manuscript only reads *ἐβούλοντο*, and *ἠβούλοντο* is the common reading, I. 2. 15. *Ἐβούλοντο* is read, I. 7. 7. The Tragedians use the double augment rarely: Aristophanes never. In Thucydides we read *ἠβούλοντο* only in VI. 79. 3. In Xenophon the best Manuscripts and editions differ. Veitch, *Greek Verbs*, p. 125.

*ἑκατέρου*] Thucydides (I. 107. 1) speaks of *two* walls, one to Phalerum, the other to the Piræus. Afterwards he speaks of two to the Piræus (II. 13. 9). The Phaleric wall he there describes as thirty-five stadia in length: the two others (which he calls the long walls) he describes as forty stadia in length.

§ 16. *τοιούτων δὲ ὄντων*] sc. *τῶν πραγμάτων*. Cp. note, 4. 29.

*εἰδὼς ἥξει*] "he would find out before he came back."

*πίστεως ἕνεκα*] "as a pledge for their (the Athenians') fidelity." Cp. *Anab.* III. 3. 4 *καὶ γὰρ τῶν Τισσαφέρνους τις οἰκείων παρηκολούθει πίστεως ἕνεκα* (sc. to secure the fidelity of Mithridates). Thuc. IV. 66. 4 *ἐν ᾗ αὐτοὶ μόνοι ἐφρούρουν βεβαιότητος ἕνεκα.*

*τις*] Cp. note, 3. 17.

§ 17. *ἧκε*] "had returned," in the Tragedians *ἄψορρον, πάλιν ἥκειν.*

*αὐτὸν...κατέχοι*] *Αὐτὸν* is emphatic (in direct narration *ἐμὲ*) and therefore commences the sentence: cp. I. 6. 2.

*δέκατος αὐτὸς*] "with nine others." Cp. Thuc. I. 116. 1 *Περικλέους δεκάτου αὐτοῦ στρατηγοῦντος*. *Αὐτὸς*, joined with these ordinal numerals, is generally used of the chief of an expedition. Jelf, § 656. 3. f.

P. 53. § 19. *ἐξαιρεῖν*] "wipe out," "blot out." Cp. Thuc. IV. 122. 6 *ψήφισμά τε εὐθὺς ἐποιήσαντο Κλέωνος γνώμῃ πεισθέντες Σκιωναίους ἐξελεῖν τε καὶ ἀποκτεῖναι.* Shilleto on Dem. *F. L.* 361 (*τὴν ἐναντίαν ποτὲ Θηβαίοις ψῆφον ἔθεντο οὗτοι περὶ ἡμῶν ὑπὲρ ἀνδραποδισμοῦ προτεθεῖσαν*) states that "after the fatal defeat at Ægospotami, and the subsequent surrender of Athens, the revengeful malice of a Theban orator had proposed to utterly

raze Athens to the ground, to sell the inhabitants for bond-slaves, and to convert Attica into a sheep-walk. It was on this occasion probably that the memorable saying of one Leptines (according to Aristot. *Rhet.* III. 10. 7) was uttered, "that Greece should not be permitted to be left one-eyed." In the discussion between the Athenian and Melian negotiators on the submission of Melos to the Athenian dominion, the Athenians themselves say that it is not the vengeance of the Lacedæmonians which they would dread in case of defeat, but rather the consequences which might ensue from the victory of their subject allies: Thuc. V. 91 *ἡμεῖς δὲ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀρχῆς, ἢν καὶ παυθῇ, οὐκ ἀθυμοῦμεν τὴν τελευτήν· οὐ γὰρ οἱ ἄρχοντες ἄλλων, ὥσπερ καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, οὗτοι δεινοὶ τοῖς νικηθεῖσιν· ἔστι δὲ οὐ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους ἡμῖν ὁ ἀγὼν, ἀλλ' ἢν οἱ ὑπήκοοί που τῶν ἀρξάντων αὐτοὶ ἐπιθέμενοι κρατήσωσι.*

§ 20. *ἐποιοῦντο εἰρήνην*] "were ready to make (were for making) peace." Cp. Thuc. I. 134. 1 *τὴν ξύλληψιν ἐποιοῦντο*, "were purposing his arrest."

*ἐφ' ᾧ*] In the principal clause *ἐπὶ τούτῳ* (*ἐπὶ τοῖσδε*) is either implied or expressed. We find it expressed, Hdt. III. 83 *ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ ὑπεξίσταμαι τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἐπ' ᾧ τε ὑπ' οὐδενὸς ὑμέων ἄρξομαι.* VII. 154 *ἐρρύσαντο δὲ οὗτοι ἐπὶ τοῖσδε καταλλάξαντες, ἐπ' ᾧ τε Ἱπποκράτεϊ Καμάριναν Συρηκοσίους παραδοῦναι.* Plat. *Apol.* 29 C *ἀλλ' ἀφίεμέν σε, ἐπὶ τούτῳ μέντοι, ἐφ' ᾧ τε μηκέτι ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ζητήσει διατρίβειν μηδὲ φιλοσοφεῖν.* Jelf, § 867. 2.

*καθέντας*] The Manuscript reading *κατάξαντας* (*κατάγω*) is considered barbarous in classic Attic, although Thucydides (II. 97. 3) gives us *προσῆξαν.* Cp. Hdt. VII. 60. Ar. *Ran.* 468. Veitch, p. 13.

§ 22. *προηγόρει αὐτῶν*] "was their spokesman." Cp. the imperfect use of *ἐνίκα* (I. 2. 1), *κατηγόρει* (I. 7. 31).

§ 23. *κατέπλει*] "sailed in (*κατὰ*, "down from the high seas")." Cp. I. 4. 13, although *κατὰ* may have the force there of "back from exile," as in *κατάγειν, κάθοδος.* Arnold says on Thuc. I. 112. 4, "This manner of speaking is derived from the apparent elevation of the horizon line of the sea above the shore, so that vessels seem ascending as they go further away from the land." So *μετέωρος* is used for "out at sea." Cp. *ἀνάγεσθαι*, "put to sea."

*ὑπ' αὐλητρίδων*] "to the accompaniment of flute-girls." Cp. Arist. *Ach.* 1001 *πίνειν ὑπὸ τῆς σάλπιγγος.* Hdt. VII. 22 *ὤρυσσον ὑπὸ μαστίγων.* Cic. *Tusc.* I. 2. 3 *canere ad tibicinem de clarorum hominum virtutibus.* Jelf, § 639. 1. 2. c.

*ἄρχειν τῆς ἐλευθερίας*] "was the beginning of liberty." Cp. Thuc. II. 12. 4 *ἥδε ἡ ἡμέρα τοῖς Ἕλλησι μεγάλων κακῶν ἄρξει.*

§ 24. *ἐτυράννησε*] "became tyrant." Cp. Hdt. II. 2 *πρὶν μὲν ἢ Ψαμμίτιχον σφέων βασιλεῦσαι.* Thuc. II. 15. 3 *ἐπειδὴ δὲ Θησεὺς ἐβασίλευσε.* Cp. also note, I. 4. 16.

**P. 54.** c. III. § 2. *εἰ τοὺς πατρίους νόμους συγγράψουσι*] Cp. Thuc. VIII. 67. 1 *καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τὸν δῆμον ξυλλέξαντες εἶπον γνώμην δέκα ἄνδρας ἑλέσθαι ξυγγραφέας αὐτοκράτορας* (*decemviros legibus scribendis*). The future indicative is used to bring forward prominently the essence and especial aim of the decree. Jelf, § 886. 2. b.

§ 4. *ἄρξαι*] "become ruler of." Cp. note, 2. 24. Jason succeeded a few years later in becoming *ταγός* (commander in chief): as did also Alexander of Pheræ after Jason's death.

§ 5. *Λεοντῖνοι Συρακοσίοις συνοικοῦντες*] Cp. Thuc. V. 4.

**P. 55.** § 7. *τοῖς ἀρχαίοις πολίταις*] sc. the four hundred, who had been ejected by the popular revolution at Samos: Thuc. VIII. 21 *τετρακοσίους δὲ φυγῇ ζημιώσαντες, καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν καὶ οἰκίας νειμάμενοι.*

§ 8. *ἀκρωτήρια*] The extremities of the prow were usually taken from a conquered vessel as a mark of victory: cp. Hdt. VIII. 121 *ἐκ τῶν ἐγένετο ἀνδριὰς ἔχων ἐν τῇ χειρὶ ἀκρωτήριον νηός.* The act of doing so was called *ἀκρωτηριάζειν*: cp. *Hell.* VI. 2. 36 *ὁ μέντοι Ἰφικράτης τὰς μὲν τριήρεις ἀκρωτηριασάμενος ἕλκων κατηγάγετο εἰς τὸν τῶν Κερκυραίων λιμένα.*

*ἃ περιεγένοντο*] The plurality of the noun of number (*τάλαντα*) gives us a plural verb: cp. Thuc. VI. 62. 4 *καὶ ἐγένοντο ἐξ αὐτῶν εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν τάλαντα.* V. 26. 2 *ἀμφοτέροις ἁμαρτήματα ἐγένοντο.* *Anab.* I. 4. 4 *ἦσαν δὲ ταῦτα δύο τείχη.* *Supr.* I. 1. 23. So when the notion of plurality of parts is to be signified: cp. *Anab.* I. 7. 17 *φανερὰ ἦσαν ἴχνη πολλά.* Cp. note, I. 7. 8. Jelf, § 385. *b.*

*παρέδειξεν*] Cp. 1. 14.

§ 9. *ἑξάμηνος*] sc. *χρόνος.* Cp. *Hell.* III. 4. 3 *καὶ ἑξαμήνου σῖτον.* Hdt. IV. 25 *οἳ τὴν ἑξάμηνον καθεύδουσι.* Cobet reads *ὁ ἔκμηνος.*

*Αἰνησίας*] Thucydides (II. 2. 1) also speaks of the war as properly commencing in the fifteenth year after the formation of the thirty years' truce, i. e. in March or April, B.C. 431, by the attack of the Thebans upon Platæa: *ἐπὶ Χρυσίδος ἐν Ἄργει ἱερωμένης, καὶ Αἰνησίου ἐφόρου ἐν Σπάρτῃ, καὶ Πυθοδώρου ἔτι δύο μῆνας ἄρχοντος Ἀθηναίοις.*

§§ 9, 10. *εἰς ὃ ἑξάμηνος...κατέπλευσεν*] Clinton (*Fast. Hellen.*) says that this computation of Xenophon, with the exception of

twenty-*seven* years and a half in place of twenty-eight years and a half, is substantially correct, as the Lacedæmonians computed it. The Athenians, he says, reckoned the war to terminate at the surrender of their city; the Lacedæmonians extended it to the return of Lysander to Lacedæmon after the reduction of Samos, about six months after the surrender of Athens, and in the autumn of B. C. 404. Thucydides (v. 26) says *ἔτη δὲ ἐς τοῦτο τὰ ξύμπαντα ἐγένετο τῷ πολέμῳ ἑπτὰ καὶ εἴκοσι.*

§ 10. Πλειστόλας] mentioned as ephor B. C. 421, in the year that the treaty of peace for fifty years was concluded between Athens and Lacedæmon (Thuc. v. 19. 1).

Ἀλεξιππίδας] mentioned as ephor in the year in which Tissaphernes concluded a new treaty with the Peloponnesians, B.C. 411.

**P. 56.** § 11. *ἐπεὶ τάχιστα*] "as soon as ever."

§ 12. *συκοφαντίας*] "laying vexatious information," "making calumnious accusations." Becker (*Char.* p. 65) borrows an interesting description of the sycophant from Demosthenes: "Cast your eyes to the right, on the haggard man in the fish-market, with black matted hair, who sidles about, not buying anything himself, but watching everybody else; he is a most dangerous sycophant, and glides about the market like a scorpion, with his venomous sting all ready, spying out whom he may surprise with misfortune and ruin, and from whom he can most easily extort money, by threatening him with an action dangerous in its consequences. You won't see him speak or associate with any one, but, as the painters encompass the shades of the wicked in Hades with the terrific phantoms of cursing and slander, of envy, discord, and strife, so are his attendants. It is the very bane of our city, that it cherishes and protects this poisonous brood, and uses them as informers, so that even the honest man must flatter and court them, in order to be safe from their machinations." Cp. *Symp.* 4. 30 *ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τοὺς συκοφάντας ἐθεράπευον, εἰδὼς ὅτι παθεῖν μᾶλλον κακῶς ἱκανὸς εἴην ἢ ποιῆσαι ἐκείνους.* Crito by Socrates' advice takes a sycophant into his pay to countermine another man's machinations. According to the Megarian's views (Arist. *Ach.* 829) the sycophant was the pest of Athens: *οἷον τὸ κακὸν ἐν ταῖς Ἀθάναις τοῦτ' ἔνι.*

*τοῖς καλοῖς κἀγαθοῖς*] sc. the oligarchy; Lat. "*boni,*" "*optimates.*"

*συνῄδεσαν ἑαυτοῖς μὴ ὄντες*] The participle may also agree with the personal pronoun following the verb, as in Plat. *Apol.* 22 D *ἐμαυτῷ γὰρ ξυνῄδειν οὐδὲν ἐπισταμένῳ.* Cp. 4. 17.

§ 13. *συμπρᾶξαι ἐλθεῖν*] The full construction would be *ὥστε ἐλθεῖν*. Cp. *Hell.* IV. 6. 14 *ἤλπιζον γὰρ Ναύπακτον αὐτοῖς συμπράξειν ὥστ' ἀπολαβεῖν*. *Anab.* VII. 8. 23 *συνέπραττον γάρ... ὥστ' ἐξαίρετα λαβεῖν*. So Thuc. VIII. 29. 2 *ξυμπλέων παραδοῦναι τὰς ναῦς*. Cp. *infr.* 4. 28. Jelf, § 666. 2.

*ἕως δή*] "until forsooth." By *τοὺς πονηροὺς* ("the evildoers") of course were meant those who did not favour the oligarchy.

§ 14. *τῶν φρουρῶν*] "some guards." Cp. Thuc. IV. 80. 2 *καὶ ἅμα τῶν Εἱλώτων βουλομένοις ἦν ἐπὶ προφάσει ἐκπέμψαι*, where Arnold compares the partitive article in French "*des Hélotes.*" *Anab.* I. 5. 7 *λαβόντας τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ στρατοῦ*. Jelf, § 533.

*ὀλίγου ἀξίους*] This seems to be a sort of conventional phrase for the "*profanum vulgus:*" cp. *Hell.* VII. 1. 13 *δούλων καὶ ἐλαχίστου ἀξίων*.

*ἐνόμιζον...ἀνέχεσθαι*] either, "actually did not," or, "would not brook being set aside." *Ἄν* may be supplied from the second clause, as in § 27; but, where no condition is implied, it is not necessary. Cp. Thuc. III. 24. 1 *νομίζοντες ἥκιστα σφᾶς ταύτην αὐτοὺς ὑποτοπῆσαι τραπέσθαι τὴν ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους*. Cobet inserts *ἄν*. But the present occurrence of their *actually being set aside* may distinguish the first clause as a positive fact from the second as a conditional probability.

§ 15. *ὁ Κριτίας*] Grote (VIII. p. 23) tells us that this Critias son of Callæschrus, had been one of the persons accused of the mutilation of the Hermæ; that he was the maternal uncle of Plato and had intimately frequented the society of Socrates. He had passed some time of his exile in Thessaly, where he engaged himself in arming the Penestæ or serfs against their masters (*infr.* § 36). He is introduced in four Platonic dialogues, and Cicero (*de Orat.* II. 22. 93) notices his historical compositions: "*consecuti sunt hos* (Pericles, Alcibiades and Thucydides) *Critias, Theramenes, Lysias.*"

P. 57. *φυγὼν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου*] The Manuscripts read *ἀπὸ τοῦ δ.* (cp. note, 4. 31). But *ὑπό* is used of the agent with intransitive verbs: cp. *Anab.* III. 4. 11 *ἀπώλεσαν τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑπὸ Περσῶν Μῆδοι*. V. 1. 15 *ἀπέθανεν ὑπὸ Νικάνδρου τοῦ Λάκωνος*. VII. 7. 23 *εὖ ἀκούειν ὑπὸ ἑξακισχιλίων ἀνθρώπων*. Jelf, § 639. 2. a.

*ὁ δὲ Θηραμένης ἀντέκοπτε*] "then Theramenes began to oppose." *Δέ* is placed in the apodosis of the sentence with the principal verb. Cp. Thuc. I. 11. 2 *ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀφικόμενοι μάχῃ ἐκράτησαν, φαίνονται δ' οὐδ' ἐνταῦθα πάσῃ τῇ δυνάμει χρησάμενοι*. VIII. 70. 1 *ὡς δὲ τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ...οἱ δὲ τετρακόσιοι ἀπεκλήρωσαν*. Jelf, § 770.

*πολλὰ δή*] "very many things."

§ 16. *ἐκποδὼν ποιεῖσθαι*] "make away with."

*ὥσπερ τυραννίδος*] Jelf (§ 779. *Obs.* 2) states that the comparative adverb *ὡς* or *ὥσπερ* can stand after comparatives instead of *ἤ*, and compares Plat. *Rep.* 526 C *ἅ γε μείζω πόνον παρέχει μανθάνοντι καὶ μελετῶντι, οὐκ ἂν ῥᾳδίως οὐδὲ πολλὰ ἂν εὕροις, ὡς τοῦτο.* *Ὥσπερ* seems equivalent rather to *οὕτως ὥσπερ.*

§ 17. *συνιστάμενοι*] "gathering together in factious knots." Cp. Thuc. II. 21. 2 *κατὰ ξυστάσεις τε γιγνόμενοι ἐν πολλῇ ἔριδι ἦσαν.*

*εἰ μή τις*] *Τις* seems to be either indefinite (cp. I. 1. 35; Thuc. V. 14. 3 *οὐκ ἤθελον σπένδεσθαι οἱ Ἀργεῖοι, εἰ μή τις αὐτοῖς τὴν Κυνουρίαν γῆν ἀποδώσει*), Fr. "*on*," or Theramenes may intend it to refer to Critias, and wish to avoid naming him. Cp. Soph. *Aj.* 1138 *τοῦτ' εἰς ἀνίαν τοὔπος ἔρχεταί τινι* (i.e. for thee). *Supr.* 2. 16 *ὅτι τις λέγοι*, *τις* evidently refers to the Lacedæmonians: I. 5. 15 *εἴ τις βούλοιτο ναυμαχεῖν*, *τις* means Lysander. For the indefinite use, cp. Virg. *Æn.* VI. 568, 9 *quæ quis apud superos, furto lætatus inani, Distulit in seram commissa piacula mortem.* *Anab.* I. 4. 12 *οὐκ ἔφασαν ἰέναι, ἐὰν μή τις αὐτοῖς χρήματα διδῷ*, Cyrus is directly pointed at. Jelf, § 373. 7. *Obs.* 2.

§ 18. *Κριτίας καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι τριάκοντα*] Cp. note, 4. 6.

*οὐχ ἥκιστα*] "more than anybody." Cp. Thuc. VII. 44. 6 *μέγιστον δὲ καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα ἔβλαψε καὶ ὁ παιωνισμός.* So *οὐχ ἧσσον* usually has the positive meaning of "more" in Thucydides: cp. I. 44. 1 *οὐχ ἧσσον τῶν Κορινθίων ἀπεδέξαντο τοὺς λόγους, ἐν δὲ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ μετέγνωσαν*...Cp. also *Hell.* VI. 4. 18 *οὐκ ἐλάχιστον δυνάμενοι ἐν τῇ πόλει.* Jelf, § 738. 2. *Obs.* 1.

*τοὺς μεθέξοντας δὴ τῶν πραγμάτων*] So at Athens B.C. 411 five thousand were to "have a share in the government," i.e. have the name of ruling citizens whereas the real power would still be in the hands of the aristocracy: Thuc. VIII. 65. 3 *οὔτε μεθεκτέον τῶν πραγμάτων πλείοσιν ἢ πεντακισχιλίοις.*

§ 19. *τρισχιλίους*] sc. *κοινωνούς.* *Γενέσθαι* or a similar infinitive may be easily supplied after *βουλομένους.*

*ὥσπερ...ἔχοντα*] *Ὥσπερ* here represents *νομίζοντας* or an equivalent participle. Cp. Thuc. VI. 24. 3 *τοῖς μὲν γὰρ πρεσβυτέροις, ὡς ἢ καταστρεψομένοις ἐφ' ἃ ἔπλεον, ἢ οὐδὲν ἂν σφαλεῖσαν μεγάλην δύναμιν.* Hdt. IX. 42 *ὥστε ὑμέων ὅσοι τυγχάνουσι εὔνοοι ἐόντες Πέρσῃσι, ἥδεσθε τοῦδε εἵνεκα, ὡς περιεσομένους ἡμέας Ἑλλήνων.*

*Memor.* I. 2. 20 ὡς τὴν μὲν τῶν χρηστῶν ὁμιλίαν ἄσκησιν οὖσαν τῆς ἀρετῆς. *ib.* I. 3. 2 ὡς τοὺς θεοὺς κάλλιστα εἰδότας ὁποῖα ἀγαθά ἐστι. *ib.* II. 3. 3 ὥσπερ ἐκ πολιτῶν μὲν γιγνομένους φίλους, ἐξ ἀδελφῶν δὲ οὐ γιγνομένους. *Symp.* I. 11 ὥσπερ τοῦτο ἐπιτεταγμένον αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ κρείττονός τινος. Jelf, § 551. 1. f. *Obs.*; § 703.

§ 20. τῶν μὲν τρισχιλίων... ἀλλαχοῦ] So the aristocratical exiles (Thuc. IV. 74) having been readmitted into Megara ἐξέτασιν ὅπλων ἐποιήσαντο, διαστήσαντες τοὺς λόχους, i.e. in different parts of the town, that the citizens might be more easily overpowered, and deprived of the means of cooperating with each other.

P. 58. κελεύσαντες ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα] "having ordered them to fetch their arms (cp. 3. 54 ἐκέλευσε τοὺς ἕνδεκα ἐπὶ τὸν Θηραμένην)." Arnold on Thuc. II. 2. 5 remarks that so inveterate was the practice of piling the spear and shield on every possible occasion that in reviews the ordinary "stand at ease" of a Grecian soldier was to get rid of his long spear and shield; and whenever they were addressed by their general they always left their arms piled, and attended him unarmed (cp. Thuc. IV. 91 Παγώνδας προσκαλῶν ἑκάστους κατὰ λόχους ὅπως μὴ ἀθρόοι ἐκλίποιεν τὰ ὅπλα. VI. 58. 2 καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀνεχώρησαν (ἄνευ τῶν ὅπλων) οἰόμενοί τι ἐρεῖν αὐτόν). This practice, he says, was on one or two occasions made use of by tyrants to disarm the citizens, their foreign guards being instructed to carry off the spears and shields of the national infantry, while piled in the usual manner, during the time that the citizens in military order were attending unarmed in another quarter to a speech purposely addressed to them by the tyrant, that he might be enabled to effect this object. Cobet thinks the passage corrupt: and certainly it is very difficult to understand the sequence of events in the transaction.

ἐν ᾧ ἐκεῖνοι ἀπεληλύθεσαν] The variant reading ἀπεληλύθησαν might suggest ἀπελύθησαν "were disbanded (cp. *Hell.* VI. 5. 21 τοὺς μὲν Σπαρτιάτας ἀπέλυσεν οἴκαδε)," which would give an easier interpretation to this obscure passage. By ἐκεῖνοι appear to be meant οἱ τρισχίλιοι. Grote (VIII. p. 37) states that "after the review was over, these scattered companies *went home to their meal*, leaving their arms piled at the various places of muster." Ἀπεληλύθεσαν hardly seems to warrant this full interpretation, although such a rendering helps considerably to clear up the meaning of the passage.

τοὺς φρουροὺς] sc. the Lacedæmonian garrison.

παρείλοντο] Cp. Dem. *F. L.* 366. *fin.* διῳκισμένοι κατὰ κώμας καὶ παρῃρημένοι τὰ ὅπλα, where there is a variant reading

*περιῃρημένοι.* Πάντων = "from all:" cp. Eur. *I. T.* 24, 25 *καί μ' Ὀδυσσέως τέχναι Μητρὸς παρείλοντ' ἐπὶ γάμοις Ἀχιλλέως.*

§ 21. *ἀποσημήνασθαι*] Cp. note, 4. 13.

§ 22. *λαμβάνοιεν*] Optative of indefinite frequency. Jelf, § 419. 1. § 831. 3.

§ 23. *λυμαινόμενον τὴν πολιτείαν*] *Infr.* § 26, we find the dative *τῇ καταστάσει* after *λυμαίνεσθαι.*

§ 24. *πλείονας τοῦ καιροῦ*] "*plures justo.*" Cp. *Anab.* IV. 3. 34 *προσωτέρω τοῦ καιροῦ προϊόντες.*

*ἀποθνήσκειν*] Cp. note, 1. 4.

*μεθίστανται*] "are *being* changed."

P. 59. § 25. *τοῖς οἵοις ἡμῖν τε καὶ ὑμῖν*] Cp. Arist. *Eccles.* 465 *ἐκεῖνο δεινὸν τοῖσιν ἡλίκοισι νῷν.* Jelf, § 823. *Obs.* 5. Cp. note, I. 4. 16.

§ 27. *ταῦτα ἐγίγνωσκε*] "had been of this opinion," "had held these views." Cp. I. 5. 3 *καὶ αὐτὸς οὐκ ἄλλ' ἐγνωκέναι.*

§ 28. *νῦν δὲ*] "but as it is." Cp. 4. 16. Thuc. I. 122. 3. IV. 126. 1.

*αὐτὸς μὲν ἄρξας...ἀρέσκει*] Theramenes is grammatically the object, but really the subject of the verbal notion. Cp. *Cyr.* IV. 3 *ἐννοηθέντες δὲ οἷά τε πάσχουσιν...ταῦτα ἐνθυμουμένοις ἔδοξεν.* VII. 5. 37 *ἐπιθυμῶν ὁ Κῦρος ἤδη κατασκευάσασθαι...ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ.* Jelf, § 707. *a.* For *ἄρξας*, cp. note, 1. 32.

*οὐκέτ' αὐτῷ...ὅπως*] sc. "he shows himself no longer satisfied with what is going on, with the object that..."

P. 60. § 29. *αὖθις πιστοὶ γίγνονται*] either, "become friends instead of foes," or "return to friendship with them."

*ὃν λαμβάνωσι*] "the man that they catch," implying that there are such men in the world (as, for instance, Theramenes himself). The supposition, more or less definite, justifies the omission of *ἂν* (following the two best Manuscripts). Jelf, § 831. 4. *γ. Obs.* 1. § 830. 3.

*τούτῳ*] Cp. note, § 43.

*τοῦ λοιποῦ*] "in any future case." Cp. *Anab.* V. 7. 34 *τοῦ δὲ λοιποῦ μηκέτι ἐξεῖναι ἀνομίας ἄρξαι.* VI. 4. 11 *καὶ δόγμα ἐποιήσαντο, ἐάν τις τοῦ λοιποῦ μνησθῇ δίχα τὸ στράτευμα ποιεῖν, θανάτῳ αὐτὸν ζημιοῦσθαι.* Τὸ λοιπόν would signify *continuity* of future time.

§ 30. *οὐ καινὰ ταῦτα οὗτος ποιεῖ*] "these are no new practices of his."

προπετέστατος...ἐκείνοις] Cp. Arist. *Ran.* 538 τὸ δὲ μεταστρέφεσθαι Πρὸς τὸ μαλθακώτερον Δεξιοῦ πρὸς ἀνδρὸς ἐστὶ καὶ φύσει Θηραμένους.

§ 31. κόθορνος ἐπικαλεῖται] "he has the nickname of the Buskin." Cp. *Mem.* I. 4. 2 Ἀριστόδημον τὸν μικρὸν ἐπικαλούμενον. Although the general intention of the explanation which follows of the Buskin is tolerably clear, yet the words as they stand appear to be hardly translateable. Cobet omits them as spurious. If they are to be retained, the particles μέν and δέ will connect the two clauses without containing any opposition. The κόθορνος appears to have fitted closely round the leg, and to have been laced in front. Possibly therefore ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων may signify "behind" (backwards), and "before" (forwards). Will Theocr. XIV. 66 help us with the variant reading ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρων? The usual meaning of ἀποβλέπειν is to "look at as a model, pattern, authority, &c."

εἰς πράγματα] "into action." To connect the expression with πράγματα παρέχειν appears to weaken, if not destroy, the force of ἤν τι ἀντικόπτῃ.

εἰ δὲ μή] "otherwise."

§ 32. δήπου] "it is true," "we all know," of a recognized fact. Lat. "*scilicet*," "*nimirum*." Cp. *Anab.* V. 7. 6 ἴστε δήπου ὅθεν Ἥλιος ἀνίσχει καὶ ὅπου δύεται. The word often conveys with it a notion of irony (§ 34).

πᾶσαι μεταβολαὶ] Cobet reads πᾶσαι αἱ μεταβολαί. Tr. "there are no changes of constitutions which do not bring bloodshed."

**P. 61.** καταδύντας] Cp. note, I. 6. 35.

§ 34. ἀπολόμενος] sc. by his death. Cp. Hor. *Od.* II. 4. 10 *et ademptus Hector Tradidit fessis leviora tolli Pergama Graiis.*

τῶν ἔξω] "the exiles."

§ 35. προσταχθὲν] accusative absolute.

**P. 62.** οὐδὲ...μὴ ὅτι] "not even...much less."

§ 36. παρανενομηκέναι] "acted illegally." Παρανενομικέναι, παρανενοηκέναι, παρακηκοέναι have all been suggested instead of this obscure expression.

§ 39. Λέοντος τοῦ Σαλαμινίου] Socrates tells us (Plat. *Apol.* 32 C) that he was sent with four others to Salamis to fetch Leon, who had gone into exile there in order to escape the violence of the Thirty: ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὀλιγαρχία ἐγένετο, οἱ τριάκοντα

*αὖ μεταπεμψάμενοί με πέμπτον αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν θόλον* (*rotunda*) *προσέταξαν ἀγαγεῖν ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος Λέοντα τὸν Σαλαμίνιον ἵν᾽ ἀποθάνοι· οἷα δὴ καὶ ἄλλοις ἐκεῖνοι πολλοῖς πολλὰ προσέταττον, βουλόμενοι ὡς πλείστους ἀναπλῆσαι αἰτιῶν.*

*Νικηράτου τοῦ Νικίου*] This was the Nicias who had been butchered with Demosthenes by the decree of the Syracusans in spite of Gylippus' wish to save them: Thuc. VII. 86 *Νικίαν δὲ καὶ Δημοσθένην ἄκοντος τοῦ Γυλίππου ἀπέσφαξαν.*

**P. 63.** § 40. *ἀλλὰ μὴν*] "then further," "nay more."

*Ἀντιφῶντος*] not the son of Sophilus, mentioned Thuc. VIII. 68. 1, but son of Lysonides.

§ 41. *ἐξῆν γὰρ αὐτοῖς*] "In expressions of *necessity*, *duty*, *propriety*, *possibility*, *liberty*, *inclination*, &c. *ἄν* is commonly omitted, as it accorded with the genius of the Greeks as well as Latins (cp. *decebat*, *æquum erat*, &c.) to represent that which was necessary or viewed as such &c., as unconditionally true, it being kept out of sight, that it sometimes did not happen, or only partially." Jelf, § 858. 3. Cp. *Anab.* VII. 7. 40 *αἰσχρὸν γὰρ ἦν τὰ μὲν ἐμὰ διαπεπρᾶχθαι.* Hence instead of *εἰ τούτου γ᾽ ἐδέοντο*, Xenophon writes *εἰ τούτου γε δέοιντο*, although the Lacedæmonians did not wish to starve out the Athenians. Cobet alters the Manuscript reading to *εἰ τούτου γ᾽ ἐδέοντο.*

§ 42. *τὸ ἀντίπαλον*] "the opposition."

§ 43. *οὗτοι*] "such men as these." *Οὗτος* often approaches the sense of *τοιοῦτος*. Cp. Thuc. V. 91 *οὐ γὰρ οἱ ἄρχοντες ἄλλων, ὥσπερ καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, οὗτοι δεινοὶ τοῖς νικηθεῖσιν.* Dem. *F. L.* 345 *ταύτην τὴν εἰρήνην* (such a peace as this) *οὐδέποτ᾽ ἂν συμβουλεύσαιμι ποιήσασθαι τῇ πόλει, εἰρήνην μέντοι φημὶ δεῖν ποιεῖσθαι.* Cp. *supr.* § 29.

**P. 64.** § 45. *ἃ δ᾽ αὖ εἶπεν κ.τ.λ.*] The relative is here explained by the sentence, which repeats as it were, but in a more definite way that to which the relative refers: cp. *Hier.* VI. 12 *ὃ δ᾽ ἐζήλωσας ἡμᾶς, ὡς τοὺς μὲν φίλους μάλιστα εὖ ποιεῖν δυνάμεθα, τοὺς δ᾽ ἐχθροὺς πάντων μάλιστα χειρούμεθα, οὐδὲ ταῦθ᾽ οὕτως ἔχει.* Thuc. V. 6. 3 *ὅπερ προσεδέχετο ποιήσειν αὐτὸν, ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀμφίπολιν, ὑπεριδόντα σφῶν τὸ πλῆθος, τῇ παρούσῃ στρατιᾷ ἀναβήσεσθαι.* Eur. *Orest.* 564, 5 *ἐφ᾽ οἷς δ᾽ ἀπειλεῖς, ὡς πετρωθῆναί με χρή, Ἄκουσον.* Cic. *Off.* III. 31 *quod cum audivisset adolescens filius, negotium exhiberi patri, accurrisse Romam dicitur.* Cp. also Thuc. IV. 125. 1. VII. 80. 3. Jelf, § 835. 2.

§ 46. *ἐκεῖνοι*] sc. the Four Hundred.

*ἔρυμα*] Cp. Thuc. VIII. 90. 3 *ᾠκοδόμουν δὲ ἔτι προθυμότερον τὸ*

*ἐν τῇ Ἠετιονίᾳ τεῖχος...χηλὴ γάρ ἐστι τοῦ Πειραιῶς ἡ Ἠετιονία, καὶ παρ' αὐτὴν εὐθὺς ὁ ἔσπλους ἐστίν.*

*τοῖς ἑταίροις*] "partisans." Ἑταιρία at Athens denoted a political club or union for party purposes. Cp. 4. 21. "These societies were formed between persons of the same age, and especially of the richer classes, who had more leisure to pass their time in each other's company (*συνημερεύειν*, or *συνδιάγειν*, *ὅπερ ἡ ἑταιρικὴ δοκεῖ ἔχειν*. Arist. *Nic. Eth.* VIII. 5. 3). The tie thus formed was binding both in peace and war: the members of one of these brotherhoods fought by each other's side in battle; and we hear of Cimon's *ἑταῖροι* to the number of 100, fighting round his armour, and dying where they stood, in order to vindicate his and their loyalty to their country, which had been impeached on account of their political opinions (Plutarch, *Cim.* 17). But in spite of this instance of heroic patriotism, the loyalty of the *ἑταιρίαι* to a democratic constitution was generally more than questionable. The members were closely attached to one another, and imbibed a strong aristocratical antipathy to the commons. And like all political clubs or unions, whether aristocratical or popular, they were little scrupulous as to the means by which their objects were to be effected: assassination being practised frequently by them, as by the patricians at Rome in their early contests with the plebs, and by the nobility of Florence in the middle ages." Arnold on Thuc. VIII. 54. 4.

§ 47. *ἀποκαλεῖ*] "calls contemptuously," "calls by way of abuse." Cp. Demosth. *F. L.* p. 417 *λογογράφους τοίνυν καὶ σοφιστὰς ἀποκαλῶν τοὺς ἄλλους καὶ ὑβρίζειν πειρωμένους.* p. 438 *βάρβαρόν τε γὰρ πολλάκις καὶ ἀλάστορα τὸν Φίλιππον ἀποκαλῶν ἐδημηγόρει.*

*τί ποτε καὶ καλέσαι χρή*] Cp. *τί δὲ καὶ δεδιότες*, I. 7. 26. *Anab.* I. 8. 16 *ἤρετο ὅ τι καὶ εἴη τὸ σύνθημα.* V. 8. 2 *λέξαντα ποῦ καὶ ἐπλήγη.* Arist. *Eccles.* 1014 *λέγ' αὐτὸ τί ποτε κἄστι.*

*μισοχρηστότατος*] "greatest hater of the good," with a play on *οἱ χρηστοί* ("those of good family").

P. 65. § 48. *δραχμῆς μετέχοιεν*] sc. are in receipt of a senator's salary. For the optative with *πρίν* after *οἰομένοις*, cp. Thuc. IV. 117. 1 *νομίσαντες Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν οὐκ ἂν ἔτι τὸν Βρασίδαν σφῶν προσαποστῆσαι οὐδὲν πρὶν παρασκευάσαιντο καθ' ἡσυχίαν.* Soph. *Phil.* 551, 2 *ἔδοξέ μοι μὴ σῖγα, πρὶν φράσαιμί σοι, τὸν πλοῦν ποιεῖσθαι.* *Œd. R.* 505 *ἀλλ' οὔποτ' ἔγωγ' ἄν, πρὶν ἴδοιμ' ὀρθὸν ἔπος, μεμφομένων ἂν καταφαίην.* Hom. *Il.* XXI. 580 *οὐκ ἔθελεν φεύγειν, πρὶν πειρήσαιτ' Ἀχιλῆος.* Jelf, § 848. 5. *β*.

*καὶ μεθ' ἵππων καὶ μετ' ἀσπίδων*] Theramenes means to say that, condemning both extreme democracy and oligarchy, he

esteems that form of government the best where the leading men would be able to render service in person on horseback and on foot.

§ 49. *ἀποστερεῖν*] "defraud." Cp. 4. 13.

§ 50. *τοῦτο οὐ βιωτὸν ἡγησάμενος*] "thinking this utterly unendurable." Cp. *Hell.* IV. 4. 6 *ἐγένοντό τινες αὐτῶν οἳ ἐνόμισαν οὕτω μὲν ἀβίωτον εἶναι.*

*τοῖς δρυφάκτοις*] "bar," "*cancelli.*"

§ 51. *οἵου δεῖ*] "competent."

*ὃς ἂν...μὴ ἐπιτρέπῃ*] sc. *μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν.* Cp. Thuc. II. 44. 2 *τὸ δ' εὐτυχὲς, οἳ ἂν τῆς εὐπρεπεστάτης λάχωσιν.* 62. 4 *καταφρόνησις ὃς ἂν καὶ γνώμῃ πιστεύῃ τῶν ἐναντίων προέχειν.* Jelf, § 829. 2.

P. 66. *θανατοῦμεν*] "condemn to death." Cp. *Anab.* II. 6. 4 (where Clearchus is condemned to death in his absence) *ἐκ τούτου καὶ ἐθανατώθη ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ τελῶν ὡς ἀπειθῶν.* The word also means "put to death."

§ 52. *ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑστίαν*] Cp. Æschin. 34. 10 *τὴν Ἑστίαν ἐπώμοσε τὴν βουλαίαν* (the altar and statue of Vesta placed in the senate-house).

*ἐπὶ Κριτίᾳ εἶναι*] "*penes Critiam esse.*" Cp. *Anab.* I. 1. 4 *βουλεύεται ὅπως μήποτε ἔτι ἔσται ἐπὶ τῷ ἀδελφῷ.* *Hell.* VII. 4. 34 *ὅπως μὴ αὐτοὶ ἐπ' ἐκείνοις, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνοι ἐπὶ σφίσιν εἶεν.* Jelf, § 634. 3. k.

§ 53. *καὶ ταῦτα γιγνώσκοντες*] "and that too knowing as you do." Jelf, § 697. d.

§ 54. *οὗ δεῖ*] Cobet reads *οἷ*: the Manuscripts *οὗ*. Shilleto on Thuc. I. 134. 6, where we should expect *οἷπερ* for *οὗπερ*, states that there are certainly passages in Greek which show that the distinction of "where" and "whither" is not always maintained (cp. I. 1. 23; II. 4. 6)..."The conceptions of *going into* and *being in* are so nearly coincident, that we do not marvel at *στῆσαι παρά τινα* as well as *παρά τινι*, *ἔς τινα τόπον* as well as *ἔν τινι τόπῳ.*" Cp. Thuc. II. 86. 1 *οὗπερ* (*οἷπερ*) *ὁ κατὰ γῆν στρατὸς τῶν Πελοποννησίων προσβεβοηθήκει.* Xenophon himself gives us, *Anab.* II. 1. 6, *προϊόντες οὗ ἡ μάχη ἐγένετο.* II. 4. 19 *ἔχοιμεν ἂν ὅπου φυγόντες ἡμεῖς σωθῶμεν.* VI. 3. 23 *ἕωθεν δὲ καὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἔφασαν οἴχεσθαι· ὅπου δέ, οὐκ εἰδέναι.* Compare our use of "where" for "whither," as in "where are you going?" Cp. also Soph. *Trach.* 40, 1 *κεῖνος δ' ὅπου βέβηκεν οὐδεὶς οἶδε.* *Hell.* VII. 1. 25 *ὅπου δὲ βουληθεῖεν ἐξελθεῖν.* So in Latin, "*ubi.*" Jelf, § 646. 6. *a.*

*τὰ ἐκ τούτων πράττετε*] i. e. give him the draught of hemlock.

P. 67. § 55. *οὐκ ἀγνοοῦντες*] sc. *ἡ βουλή* (a noun of multitude). Cp. I. 4. 13 *ὁ ὄχλος...θαυμάζοντες*. *Anab.* II. 1. 6 *τὸ δὲ στράτευμα ἐπορίζετο σῖτον κόπτοντες τοὺς βοῦς καὶ ὄνους*.

§ 56. *οἰμώξοιτο*] "would rue it." Cp. Hdt. IV. 127 *ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ ὅτι δεσπότης ἔφησας εἶναι ἐμὸς, κλαίειν λέγω*. Horace *Sat.* I. 10. 91 *discipularum inter jubeo plorare cathedras*.

*ἀποκοτταβίσαντα*] "having jerked out the last drops." Cp. Cic. *Tusc.* I. 40 *reliquum sic e poculo ejecit ut id resonaret; quo sonitu reddito, arridens propino inquit hoc pulchro Critiæ.* The game of *κότταβος* evidently served as a kind of love-oracle. Originally the player spurted from his mouth the wine or water which descended upon the *πλάστιγγες* or metal scale-plates: it is stated that at a later date the wine was not taken into the mouth but jerked out of a cup.

*ταῦτα ἀποφθέγματα οὐκ ἀξιόλογα*] "these matters are not sayings worthy of mention." Cp. *Anab.* I. 4. 4 *ἦσαν δὲ ταῦτα δύο τείχη*.

*τοῦ θανάτου παρεστηκότος*] Cicero, "*quum jam præcordiis conceptam mortem contineret.*"

*τὸ φρόνιμον*] Cicero, "*hanc animi maximi æquitatem.*"

*τὸ παιγνιῶδες*] "sense of humour," "pleasantry." Cic. *Tusc.* I. 40 *lusit vir egregius extremo spiritu.*

c. IV. § 1. *Θηραμένης*] Cicero thought very highly of Theramenes: *Tusc. D.* I. 40 *quam me delectat Theramenes! quam elato animo est!* He ranks him with Themistocles and Pericles: *de Orat.* III. 16. 59 *qui propter ancipitem faciendi dicendique sapientiam florerent ut Themistocles ut Pericles ut Theramenes.*

*ἄστυ*] "the upper town." Cp. note, I. 4. 13.

*ἦγον*] "proceeded to expel, or, bring to trial."

*τῶν χωρίων*] "farms," "estates."

§ 2. *Φυλήν*] termed by Corn. Nep. (*Thrasyb.* II. 1) "*castellum in Attica munitissimum.*" Aristophanes (*Plut.* 1146) makes an amusing allusion to this occupation of Phyle: *μὴ μνησικακήσῃς εἰ σὺ Φυλὴν κατέλαβες* (*infr.* § 43).

P. 68. § 4. *τὰς ἐσχατιὰς*] the Bœotian frontiers.

*πεντεκαίδεκα στάδια*] nearly two miles.

*λασίῳ*] "rough (with bush, &c.)," opposed to *μαλακός*. Cp. *Hell.* IV. 2. 19 *τέως μὲν οὖν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐκ ᾔσθάνοντο προσιόντων τῶν πολεμίων· καὶ γὰρ ἦν λάσιον τὸ χωρίον.*

§ 5. *θέμενος τὰ ὅπλα*] "having grounded arms," i.e. having piled spear and shield.

§ 6. *πρὸς ἡμέραν ἐγίγνετο*] "it was drawing towards day-break." Cp. *Anab.* IV. 5. 21 *ἐπεὶ δὲ πρὸς ἡμέραν ἦν.* Jelf, § 638. 3. 2. a. Cp., for a similar surprise of the Lacedæmonians by the Thebans, *Hell.* VII. 1. 16 *ἐπιπίπτουσι τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ τοῖς Πελληνεῦσιν ἡνίκα αἱ μὲν νυκτεριναὶ φυλακαὶ ἤδη ἔληγον, ἐκ δὲ τῶν στιβάδων ἀνίσταντο ὅποι ἐδεῖτο ἕκαστος.*

*ἀνίσταντο*] sc. *οἱ τριάκοντα.*

*ἀπὸ τῶν ὅπλων*] "from the camp." Cp. Thuc. I. 3. 2 *ὅσα μὴ προϊόντες πολὺ ἐκ τῶν ὅπλων* (the place where the spears and shields were piled).

*οἱ περὶ Θρασύβουλον*] "Thrasybulus and his men." Thrasybulus is included in the expression, as *supr.* 3. 18 Critias makes up one of the Thirty in the expression *Κριτίας καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι τριάκοντα* (*infr.* § 8).

*ἐπικαλούμενον*] "surnamed." Cp. note, 3. 31.

§ 7. *ἀνείλοντο*] "had taken up." Cp. note, I. 7. 4.

P. 69. § 8. *ἐν τοῖς ἱππεῦσι*] These words, if not corrupt must be equivalent to *τῶν ἱππέων* (sc. *τῶν Ἐλευσινίων*).

*προσδεήσοιντο*] "would want in addition." Cp. note, 4. 22.

*τὸν δ' ἀπογραψάμενον ἀεὶ*] Cp. note, 1. 4.

*ἀναγαγόντα*] sc. from the sea into the city. Cp. I. 3. 8.

§ 9. *τὸ Ὠιδεῖον*] "An Odeum or music-hall resembled a theatre in its semi-circular form, but differed from it in being usually roofed for the sake of sound. Athens had three such buildings: (1) the Odeum of Pericles which is probably the one meant here; built about 440 B.C. at the S. E. corner of the acropolis. It had a pointed roof, said to be in imitation of the tent of Xerxes; in the interior 'many seats and columns' (Plut. *Per.* 13). (2) The Odeum near the fountain Callirhoe by the Ilissus; older, according to Hesychius, than the theatre of Dionysus, i.e. than 500 B.C. On one occasion 3000 hoplites were called together in it: Xen. *Hell.* II. 4. 9. (3) The Odeum built about 150 A.D. at the south-west corner of the acropolis by Herodes Atticus, and called after his wife, the 'Odeum of Regilla.' It was the largest in Greece, the interior diameter being about 240 feet (Paus. VII. 20. 3)." Jebb, *Theophr.* p. 236.

*καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἱππέας*] "and the cavalry besides." Cp. *Anab.* I. 5. 5 *οὐ γὰρ ἦν χόρτος οὐδὲ ἄλλο οὐδὲν δένδρον.* 7. 11 *ἄλλοι δὲ ἦσαν ἑξακισχίλιοι ἱππεῖς.* So in Latin, "*alius.*"

*φανερὰν φέρειν τὴν ψῆφον*] Similarly the aristocratical exiles at Megara on returning to their native city held a review in different parts of the town, and compelled the democrats to vote openly upon the lives of those whom they knew to be most ill-affected towards them (Thuc. IV. 74. 4). Cp. Lys. *c. Agorat.* 467 *οἱ μὲν γὰρ τριάκοντα ἐκάθηντο ἐπὶ τῶν βάθρων· δύο δὲ τράπεζαι ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν τῶν τριάκοντα ἐκείσθην· τὴν δὲ ψῆφον οὐκ εἰς καδίσκους, ἀλλὰ φανερὰν ἐπὶ τὰς τραπέζας ταύτας ἔδει τίθεσθαι· τὴν μὲν καθαιροῦσαν, ἐπὶ τὴν ὑστέραν, τὴν δὲ σώζουσαν, ἐπὶ τὴν προτέραν.*

**P. 70.** § 11. *ἔτι μὲν*] "for some time." Cp. *τέως μέν,* I. 4. 6.

*ὁ κύκλος*] the circuit of the walls of the Piræus. Cp. Thuc. II. 13. 7 *τοῦ τε γὰρ Φαληρικοῦ τείχους στάδιοι ἦσαν πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα πρὸς τὸν κύκλον τοῦ ἄστεος, καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ κύκλου τὸ φυλασσόμενον τρεῖς καὶ τεσσαράκοντα.*

*τὴν Ἱπποδάμειον ἀγορὰν*] called after an architect in the time of Pericles, who laid out the Piræus.

*τὸ Βενδίδειον*] the temple of Bendis, a Thracian divinity, identified with the Athenian Artemis. Livy, XXXVIII. 41 *Romanorum primum agmen extra saltum circa templum Bendidium loco aperto castra posuit.*

*ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα ἀσπίδων*] "fifty deep." Cp. *ἐπὶ μιᾶς,* I. 6. 29. The Thebans also formed their column at Leuctra fifty deep: *Hell.* VI. 4. 12 *οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι οὐκ ἔλαττον ἢ ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα ἀσπίδων συνεστραμμένοι ἦσαν.* The ordinary depth of the Macedonian phalanx was sixteen. Cp. Thuc. IV. 93. 4 *ἐπ' ἀσπίδας δὲ πέντε μὲν καὶ εἴκοσι Θηβαῖοι ἐτάξαντο.*

§ 12. *ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις*] "behind these." Cp. *ἐπὶ πᾶσιν,* I. 1. 34.

*αὐτόθεν*] Cp. 2. 13. Sc. they had additional reinforcements from the inhabitants of the place. Cp. Thuc. V. 52. 2 *καὶ τῶν αὐτόθεν ξυμμάχων παραλαβών.* VI. 71. 2. VII. 71. 1.

§ 13. *ἡμέραν πέμπτην*] "four days ago." Cp. *Cyr.* VI. 3. 11 *καὶ χθὲς δὲ καὶ τρίτην ἡμέραν* (day before yesterday) *τὸ αὐτὸ ἔπραττον.*

*οὗτοι δὴ*] "*illi vero,*" "*illi ipsi.*"

*ἀπεστέρουν*] "defrauded." Cp. 3. 49.

*τοὺς φιλτάτους τῶν ἡμετέρων*] "those nearest and dearest to us." The Tragedians, and sometimes Plato, would have said *τὰ φίλτατα.*

*ἀπεσημαίνοντο*] *Ἀποσημαίνεσθαι* has the meaning of "confiscate (mark out for public sale)," "*proscriptione publicare,*" 3. 21. Here it probably means "marked out for death," "marked out so as to get rid of." The expression however is not quite clear. Cp. *ἐπισημαίνεσθαι*, "mark with approbation."

*οὗ*] Cobet reads *οἷ.* Cp. note, 3. 54.

**P. 71.** § 14. *οὐχ ὅπως*] "not only not." Cp. *Anab.* VII. 7. 8 *καὶ οὐχ ὅπως δῶρα δοὺς καὶ εὖ ποιήσας ἀνθ' ὧν εὖ ἔπαθες ἀξιοῖς ἡμᾶς ἀποπέμψασθαι, ἀλλ' ἀποπορευομένους ἡμᾶς οὐδὲ καταυλισθῆναι, ὅσον δύνασαι, ἐπιτρέπεις.* *Hell.* V. 4. 34 *ὡς οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐχ ὅπως τιμωρήσαιντο ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπαινέσειαν τὸν Σφοδρίαν.* Jelf, § 762. 3.

§ 15. *κατατρώσομεν*] "wound mortally." *Κατὰ* here strengthens the notion of the simple verb, as in *κατακόπτειν, κατακτείνειν, καταφαγεῖν, καταδακρύειν.*

§ 16. *νῦν δέ*] Cp. note, 3. 28.

*ὧν γε*] "*quippe quorum.*"

§ 17. *συνείσεται ὧν*] Cp. note, 3. 12.

*ἐπίδωσι*] "live to see." Cp. Thuc. VII. 77. 7 *τευξόμενοι ὧν ἐπιθυμεῖτέ που ἐπιδεῖν.* Soph. *Trach.* 1036 *τὰν ὧδ' ἐπίδοιμι πεσοῦσαν.* Arist. *Ach.* 1156 *ὃν ἔτ' ἐπίδοιμι τευθίδος δεόμενον.* Xen. *Cyr.* VIII. 7. 7 *τοὺς φίλους ἐπεῖδον δι' ἐμοῦ εὐδαίμονας γενομένους.* *Anab.* VII. 1. 30 *ἐγὼ μὲν τοίνυν εὔχομαι, πρὶν ταῦτα ἐπιδεῖν ὑφ' ὑμῶν γενόμενα, μυρίας ἔμεγε κατὰ γῆς ὀργυιὰς γενέσθαι.* Tac. *Agric.* 45 *non vidit Agricola obsessam curiam.* The word is also used especially of looking upon evils. Cp. Plat. *Gorg.* 473 C. Hom. *Il.* XXII. 61, 2.

*μνημείου ... τεύξεται*] For the position of *οὕτω* (referring to *καλοῦ*), cp. *Symp.* 4. 40 *οὐδὲν οὕτως ὁρῶ φαῦλον ἔργον ὁποῖον οὐκ ἀρκοῦσαν ἂν τροφὴν ἐμοὶ παρέχοι.* Hdt. VII. 46 *ἐν γὰρ οὕτω βραχέϊ βίῳ οὐδεὶς οὕτω ἄνθρωπος ἐὼν εὐδαίμων πέφυκε.* Possibly *οὕτω* qualifies both *πλούσιος* and *καλοῦ.*

*τὸν Ἐνυάλιον*] *Ἐνυάλιος* (from *Ἐνύω*, "Bellona") appears in Homer sometimes as an epithet of the War-god, sometimes as his name. In later authors he becomes a distinct deity: Arist. *Pac.* 457 *Ἄρει δὲ μή; ... μηδ' Ἐνυαλίῳ γε;* cp. *Anab.* I. 8. 18 *καὶ ἅμα ἐφθέγξαντο πάντες οἷόν περ τῷ Ἐνυαλίῳ ἐλελίζουσι, καὶ πάντες δὲ ἔθεον.*

§ 18. *καὶ γὰρ*] "*etenim.*"

**P. 72.** § 19. *ἀποθνήσκει*] Historic present. Jelf, § 395. 2.

*ἐνίκων καὶ κατεδίωξαν*] Cp. note, I. 2. 1.

*τοὺς δὲ χιτῶνας κ.τ.λ.*] Cp. Corn. Nep. (*Thrasyb.* 2) *neminem jacentem veste spoliavit; nihil attigit, nisi arma, quorum indigebat, et quæ ad victum pertinebant.*

§ 20. *Κλεόκριτος*] derided by Aristophanes: *Av.* 877 *δέσποινα Κυβέλη, στροῦθε, μῆτερ Κλεοκρίτου.*

*εὔφωνος*] Cp. Arist. *Eccles.* 713 *λαβοῦσα κηρύκαιναν εὔφωνόν τινα.*

*συμφοιτηταὶ*] "school-fellows." Cp. Arist. *Nub.* 916 *διὰ σὲ δὲ φοιτᾶν οὐδεὶς ἐθέλει τῶν μειρακίων.* Dem. *de Cor.* 315. 7 *ἐδίδασκες γράμματα, ἐγὼ δ' ἐφοίτων.*

§ 21. *ἑταιρίας*] Cp. note, 3. 46: *Hell.* V. 2. 25 *ἀρχηγὸς ἑκάτερος τῶν ἑταιριῶν.*

**P. 73.** § 22. *κατεδακρύσαμεν*] "wept bitterly for." Cp. note, 4. 15.

*προσακούειν*] "hearing also (as well as having been witnesses of the battle)." Cp. *Hell.* III. 4. 1 *καὶ ἰδὼν...προσακούσας δὲ καὶ τοῦτο.*

§ 23. *τοῖς ἐν Πειραιεῖ*] Cp. note, I. 4. 13.

§ 24. *ἐξεκάθευδον*] "slept out of their quarters." Cp. Cic. *Div.* I. 50. 112 *moniti Lacedæmonii ut urbem et tecta linquerent armatique in agro excubarent.*

**P. 74.** *ἀφ' ἑσπέρας*] "at eventide (directly evening had set in)." Cp. *ἕωθεν.* Jelf, 620. 2. d.

§ 25. *ὅπλα*] "shields." Cp. Thuc. VII. 45. 2 *ὅπλα μέντοι ἔτι πλείω ἢ κατὰ τοὺς νεκροὺς ἐλήφθη· οἱ γὰρ κατὰ τῶν κρημνῶν βιασθέντες ἅλλεσθαι ψιλοὶ ἄνευ τῶν ἀσπίδων, οἱ μὲν ἀπώλοντο, οἱ δ' ἐσώθησαν.*

*ἐλευκοῦντο*] "were whitening them over (with chalk)." *Hell.* VII. 5. 20, we find *ἐλευκοῦντο τὰ κράνη,* "began to polish their helmets." The Carians are spoken of as *λευκάσπιδες*, III. 2. 15. In the Tragedians the Argives only are *λευκάσπιδες*: cp. Eur. *Phœn.* 1099 *λεύκασπιν εἰσορῶμεν Ἀργείων στρατόν.* Soph. *Antig.* 106 *τὸν λεύκασπιν Ἀργόθεν ἐκ φῶτα βάντα πανσαγίᾳ.* Æsch. *Theb.* 90 *λευκοπρεπὴς λεὼς ὄρνυται ἐπὶ πόλιν.* Hom. *Il.* XXII. 294 *Δηΐφοβον δ' ἐκάλει λευκάσπιδα μακρὸν ἀΰσας.* Virg. *Æn.* IX. 548 *parmaque inglorius alba.* The term *λεύκωμα* is ap-

plied to tablets of larch whitened over with chalk or white plaster for ornamental panels.

*γενέσθαι*] "had gone by." Cp. note, I. 4. 7.

*ὀπώραν*] Cp. note, I. 1.

§ 26. *τῶν Αἰξωνέων*] members of one of the Attic demes. The Manuscripts read *ἔξω νέων*.

§ 27. *ἀνταπέκτειναν*] "killed in retaliation."

*τῶν ἱππέων*] Cp. note, 3. 14.

*εἰ δὲ καὶ...ὅς*] a confusion between two constructions. Cp. *Anab.* VI. 4. 18 *ὡς γὰρ ἐγώ, ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτομάτου χθὲς ἥκοντος πλοίου, ἤκουσά τινος ὅτι Κλέανδρος ὁ ἐκ Βυζαντίου ἁρμοστὴς μέλλει ἥξειν πλοῖα ἔχων καὶ τριήρεις.*

*τοῦτο*] referring to what follows. Cp. 3. 56.

*ζεύγη*] "teams."

*ἁμαξιαίους λίθους*] "stones large enough to fill a waggon." Cp. Eur. *Phœn.* 1157 *λᾶαν ἐμβαλὼν κάρᾳ Ἁμαξοπληθῆ.* *Anab.* IV. 2. 3.

P. 75. § 28. *ἑκατὸν τάλαντα*] Demosthenes tells us (*c. Lept.* 460) that the money borrowed on this occasion was on the restoration of order refunded to the Lacedæmonians by general payment: *φασὶ τὸν δῆμον ἑλέσθαι συνεισενεγκεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ μετασχεῖν τῆς δαπάνης, ὥστε μὴ λῦσαι τῶν ὡμολογημένων μηδέν.*

*αὐτοῖς*] sc. *τοῖς ἐξ ἄστεως.*

*ἁρμοστήν*] Xenophon also uses the form *ἁρμοστήρ*: *Hell.* IV. 8. 39 *καὶ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ τῶν συνεληλυθότων ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ἁρμοστήρων ὡς δώδεκα μαχόμενοι συναπέθανον.*

§ 29. *τῷ Λυσάνδρῳ*] almost equivalent to "this Lysander." *Supr.* § 28, we have simply *Λύσανδρος*, as being the first mention of the name. Jelf, § 450. 1.

*οὕτω δὲ προχωρούντων*] Cp. Thuc. I. 109. 3 *ὡς δὲ αὐτῷ οὐ προὐχώρει* (sc. *τὰ πράγματα*). Cp. note, 2. 16.

*φρουράν*] Cp. the concrete use of *φυλακή* for *φύλακες*. This word is applied specially to the Spartan soldiery: *Hell.* III. 2. 23 *φρουρὰν ἔφηναν οἱ ἔφοροι.* VI. 4. 17 *φρουρὰν μὲν ἔφαινον οἱ ἔφοροι ταῖν ὑπολοίποιν μόραιν μέχρι τῶν τετταράκοντα ἀφ' ἥβης.*

§ 30. *ἔπραττον δὲ ταῦτα*] "and they took up this attitude."

*ἐν τῷ Ἁλιπέδῳ καλουμένῳ*] sc. the low-lying region between the Piræus and Mount Hymettus.

P. 76. § 31. *ἀπιέναι ἐπὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν*] "go to their respective homes." Cp. § 38.

*ὅσον ἀπὸ βοῆς ἕνεκεν*] "as far as noise went." Cp. Thuc. VIII. 92. 9 *ὁ μὲν Θηραμένης ἐλθὼν ἐς τὸν Πειραιᾶ ὅσον καὶ ἀπὸ βοῆς ἕνεκα ὠργίζετο τοῖς ὁπλίταις*, where Arnold says that one or other of these two prepositions is superfluous. Jelf, § 621. 3. 1. *Obs.* 3.

*ἀπὸ τῆς προσβολῆς*] 'Ἀπὸ is here used as indicating a less direct agency than *ὑπό*, and combining the senses of "result" and "means." There seems no necessity for an alteration of reading. Thucydides gives us a good instance (amongst others), VII. 29. 1 : *καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, ἥν τι δύνηται, ἀπ' αὐτῶν βλάψαι.* Cp. *id.* I. 17. 1 *ἐπράχθη τε οὐδὲν ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἔργον ἀξιόλογον.* Jelf, § 620. 3. d.

*τὸν κωφὸν λιμένα*] "the mute harbour," of Munychia as opposed to the noisy Piræus. These words have been proposed as an emendation for *τὸν Κολοφωνίων λιμένα*, Thuc. V. 2. 2, where, as Arnold says, there is no information to explain why one of the harbours of the Toronæans should have been named from the Colophonians. Cp. the "Smugglers' harbour," *τὸν φώρων λιμένα*, a little westward of the Piræus.

§ 32. *τὰ δέκα ἀφ' ἥβης*] "those who had passed the age of maturity ten years," i.e. those who were 28 years old. The age of *ἥβη* at Sparta was 18 years, at Athens 14 or 16. For the expression, cp. *Hell.* III. 4. 23 ; VI. 4. 17.

*Πειραιοῖ*] Locative case.

§ 33. *ἀποθνήσκει*] Cp. 4. 19.

*πολεμάρχῳ*] There were six polemarchs in Sparta, one at the head of each mora ; they were next in military rank to the king : cp. Thuc. V. 66. 3 *βασιλέως γὰρ ἄγοντος ὑπ' ἐκείνου πάντα ἄρχεται, καὶ τοῖς μὲν πολεμάρχοις αὐτὸς φράζει τὸ δέον, οἱ δὲ τοῖς λοχαγοῖς, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ τοῖς πεντηκοντῆρσιν, αὖθις δ' οὗτοι τοῖς ἐνωμοτάρχαις καὶ οὗτοι τῇ ἐνωμοτίᾳ.*

*ἐν Κεραμεικῷ*] Those who had fallen in battle were buried in the outer Ceramicus on the road leading to the Academy. Cp. Thuc. II. 34. 6 *τιθέασιν οὖν ἐς τὸ δημόσιον σῆμα, ὅ ἐστιν ἐπὶ τοῦ καλλίστου προαστείου τῆς πόλεως, καὶ ἀεὶ ἐν αὐτῷ θάπτουσι τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πολέμων, πλήν γε τοὺς ἐν Μαραθῶνι.* Cp. also Arist. *Av.* 395, sqq. *ὁ Κεραμεικὸς δέξεται νώ, Δημόθεν γὰρ ἵνα ταφῶμεν, Φήσομεν πρὸς τοὺς στρατηγοὺς Μαχομένω τοῖς πολεμίοισιν Ἀποθανεῖν ἐν Ὀρνεαῖς.* Dem. *de Cor.* 297 (208) *τοὺς ἐν τοῖς δημοσίοις μνήμασι κειμένους ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας.* Cic. *de Leg.* II. 26 *amplitudines sepulchrorum quas in Ceramico videmus.*

**P. 77.** § 34. *εἰς χεῖρας*] Cp. Thuc. V. 72. 4 *οὐδὲ ἐς χεῖρας τοὺς πολλοὺς ὑπομείναντας.* Herodotus expresses hand-to-hand

conflict by *ἐς χειρῶν νόμον ἀπίκεσθαι*, *ἐν χειρῶν νόμῳ ἀπόλλυσθαι* (IX. 48; VIII. 89).

§ 35. *σφᾶς*] the Spartan officers.

§ 36. *ὥσπερ γὰρ...συστρατεύεσθαι*] Besides the ephors, the king would be closely accompanied by the polemarchs: cp. *Rep. Lac.* XIII. 1 *συσκηνοῦσι δὲ αὐτῷ οἱ πολέμαρχοι, ὅπως ἀεὶ συνόντες μᾶλλον καὶ κοινοβουλῶσιν, ἤν τι δεῶνται*: and by three of the peers, *ib.* XIII. 1 *συσκηνοῦσι δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι τρεῖς ἄνδρες τῶν ὁμοίων· οὗτοι τούτοις ἐπιμελοῦνται πάντων τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, ὡς μηδεμία ἀσχολία ᾖ αὐτοῖς τῶν πολεμικῶν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι.* He would also have a body-guard of one hundred picked warriors. Cp. Hdt. VI. 57, and Arnold on Thuc. V. 60. 1 *τῶν ἐν τέλει ξυστρατευομένων.*

§ 37. *οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ*] sc. *οἱ δέκα.*

*λέγοντας*] Cp. *Hell.* III. 5. 7 *πρέσβεις ἔπεμψαν Ἀθήναζε λέγοντας τάδε.* 4. 25 *ὁ Τιθραύστης πέμπει πρὸς τὸν Ἀγησίλαον πρέσβεις λέγοντας.* *Anab.* IV. 5. 8 *διέπεμπε διδόντας.* Thuc. VII. 25. 9 *ἔπεμψαν δὲ καὶ ἐς τὰς πόλεις πρέσβεις ἀγγέλλοντας.* Cobet reads *λέγοντες.* So *ἀπαγγέλλουσα*, 1. 29, is the reading of all the best Manuscripts. Although the action is incomplete, yet it is conceived of as having already commenced, and is therefore expressed by the present. Jelf, § 398. 2. Cp. Soph. *Aj.* 826, 7 *πέμψον τιν' ἡμῖν ἄγγελον, κακὴν φάτιν Τεύκρῳ φέροντα.*

**P. 78.** § 38. *οἱ ἔκκλητοι*] Cp. Eur. *Or.* 612 *ἔκκλητον Ἀργείων ὄχλον.* The assembly of the *ἔκκλητοι* seems to have been the same as the so-called lesser assembly (*Hell.* III. 3. 8 *τὴν μικρὰν καλουμένην ἐκκλησίαν*).

*ἀρξάντων*] "who had had rule."

§ 39. *διῆκε*] "disbanded." We find *ἀφῆκε*, V. 3. 25: *διαφῆκε*, III. 2. 24; IV. 4. 13.

§ 41. *παρελύθητε*] "were disabled, overthrown." The proposed emendation *περιηλάθητε*, "were harassed," seems preferable to Dindorf's substitute for the corrupt Manuscript reading *περιελήλυθεν.* Cp. Arist. *Eq.* 290 *περιελῶ σ' ἀλαζονείαις.* 887 *οἵοις πιθηκισμοῖς με περιελαύνεις.* Hdt. I. 60 *περιελαυνόμενος τῇ στάσει.* Demosth. 1049. 10 *περιελαθέντα ὑπὸ τούτου.*

*ὥσπερ τοὺς δάκνοντας κύνας κ.τ.λ.*] probably a verbal reference to Solon's law, which would be familiar to an Athenian audience, *ἐν ᾧ καὶ κύνα δακόντα παραδοῦναι κελεύει κλοιῷ τετραπήχει δεδέμενον.* Plut. *Solon* 24.

**P. 79.** § 42. *ἀνέστησε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν*] "restored the assembly." "The Assembly had been practically abolished by

the election of the Thirty. Restoring the Assembly is equivalent to restoring the democracy," J. S. Philpotts. The interpretation usually given to this bold phrase is "broke up the assembly ("adjourned the assembly," Liddell and Scott)." But no previous mention has been made of summoning an assembly, which has led Cobet and others to introduce *ἐκκλησίαν ἐποίησαν, συνέλεξαν* after the word *κατέβησαν* (§ 40): and Xenophon would in all likelihood have used the constitutional phrase, *λύειν, διαλύειν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν* (cp. Arist. *Ach.* 173 *οἱ γὰρ πρυτάνεις λύουσι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν.* Thuc. VIII. 69. 1 *ἡ ἐκκλησία κυρώσασα ταῦτα διελύθη*). Hom. *Il.* I. 191 we find a somewhat similar phrase (*τοὺς μὲν ἀναστήσειεν, ὁ δ' Ἀτρείδην ἐναρίζοι*) in connection with "breaking up" an assembly: but the idea of *force*, which is there strictly prominent, hardly seems to find a place in the present passage. In addition to this we may notice that after having reestablished the proper assembly, the citizens proceed to the constitutional election of magistrates (§ 43).

§ 43. *ὀμόσαντες ἦ μὴν μὴ μνησικακήσειν*] Ἦ *μήν* "verily" is used of strong assurance, and accompanies oaths, declarations, &c. Homer uses *ἦ μέν* to express the same meaning. Jelf, § 728. 3. *a.* § 729. 3. *a.* The Present, Future, or Aorist Infinitive is used after verbs of swearing, ordering, praying and the like, according as the speaker regards the action either as simply continuing, or continuing in Future time, or has no regard either to its continuance or its time, but only to its taking place. Jelf, § 405. 7.

# INDEX TO THE NOTES.

## BOOK I.

## BOOK II.

# INDEX NOMINUM ET LOCORUM.

## LIB. I.

## LIB. II.

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Xenophon
Hellenics of Xenophon.
Books I and II